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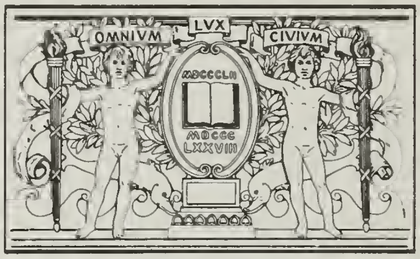

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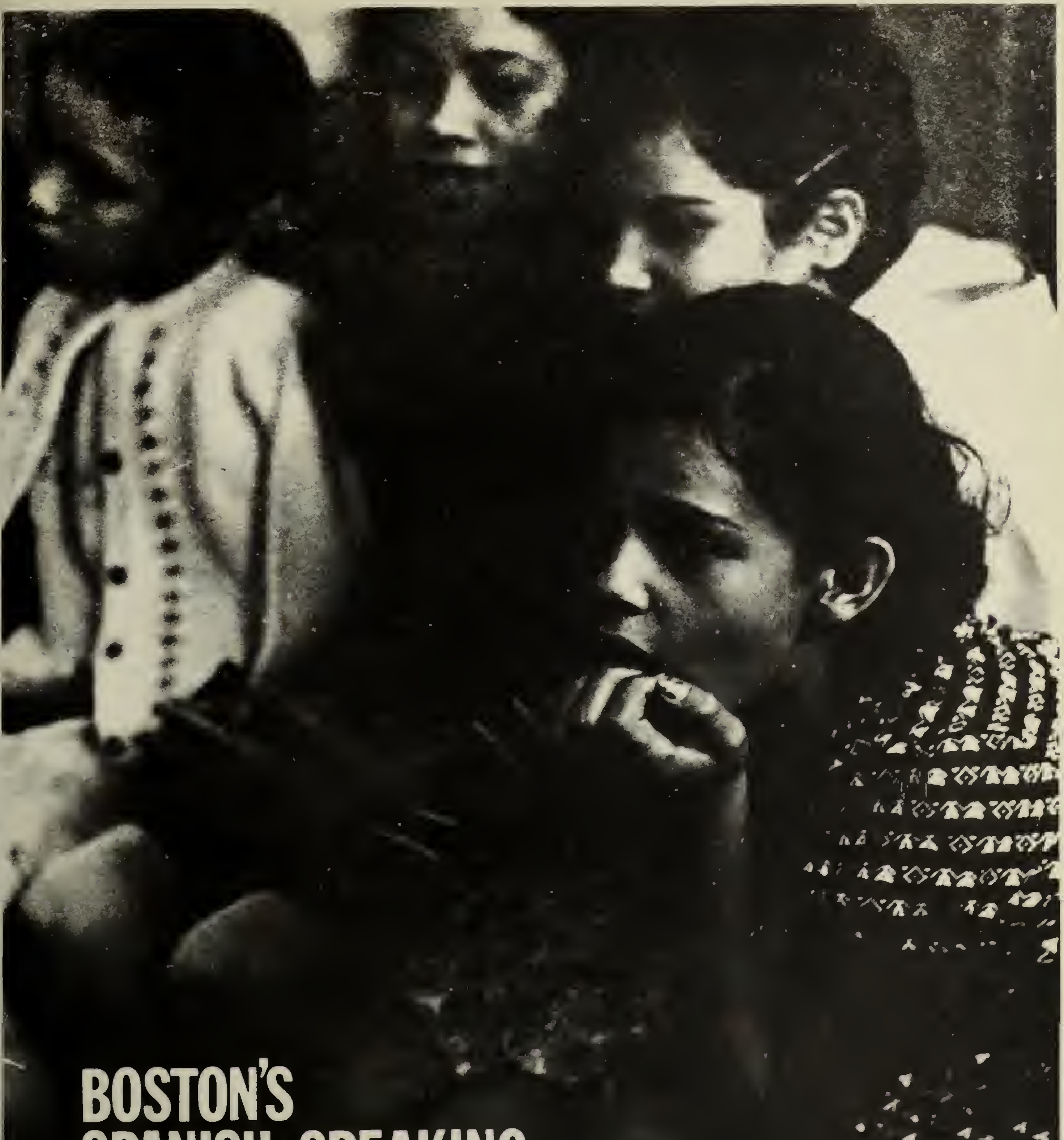

BOSTON'S SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY:

findings of a field survey

Prepared by abcd Action for Boston Community Development, Inc.

Statements in this report
do not necessarily
represent the views of
the U.S. Dept. of Labor

BOSTON'S
SPANISH SPEAKING
COMMUNITY:
Findings of a Field Survey

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October, 1971

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report presents a first set of tabulations from a sample survey of Spanish-speaking households in the City of Boston which was conducted by Action for Boston Community Development with a grant from the U. S. Department of Labor.* Over-all direction for the project and analysis of the data were performed by the Planning and Evaluation Department of ABCD, with the field work and data processing subcontracted to the Institute of Human Sciences at Boston College.

Interviewing for this survey took place during the months of July, August and September of 1970. In all, 535 households were included in the sample, which was selected so as to provide a representative cross-section of the total Spanish-speaking population of the City, including Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latins. The procedure used to select the households was an area sampling technique, described in detail in an Appendix to this report. The technique involved the selection of households in several waves, from parts of the City known to have high concentrations of Spanish-speaking households, from areas adjacent to these high concentration areas, and from the remainder of the City, where Spanish-speaking households are widely dispersed. Sampling was deliberately done most heavily in the high concentration areas and least heavily in the low concentration areas, and the final results were then weighted so as to correct for over-representation and under-representation of particular areas in the sample. The weighted total of households in the survey is 737, and the analysis presented in this report is based on this weighted total rather than on the original unweighted total of 535.

One person was interviewed in each of the selected households. This individual was asked questions about himself, about other members of the household, and about the household as a whole. Out of the total weighted number of persons interviewed, 53.3% were male heads of households; 25.6% female heads of households; 19.0% wives of heads; and 2.1% other adults.

While the survey did not involve a complete count of the Spanish-speaking population of the City of Boston, a question was included on the interview schedule to permit assessment of the validity of the total population count for the Spanish-speaking which will be found in the 1970 U. S. Census on the City of Boston. Each respondent to the survey was asked whether he or any other member of his household had completed the U. S. Census questionnaire or had been interviewed by anyone in relation to the Census. One hundred and twenty-four respondents, who were living at their present addresses in April, 1970, and who thus should have been contacted by the Census Bureau at these addresses, stated that their households had not been covered by the Census. An independent check of these names and addresses with the Census Bureau revealed, however, that 111 out of the 124 households are in fact included in the 1970 Census records. This suggests that the 1970 Census count of the total Spanish-speaking population is a statistically reliable one, which may be used with a high degree of confidence in conjunction with sample data such as that presented in this report.

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*Statements in this report do not necessarily represent the views of the U. S. Department of Labor.

The report which follows is organized in eight major sections, covering the following topics: Migration, Household Composition, Education, Employment, Standard of Living, Health, Housing, and Social Interaction. Each section presents straight ("marginal") tabulations of responses to a series of questions on the interview schedule, accompanied by a narrative description of the pattern of responses. Approximately three-quarters of the questions utilized on the interview schedule are included in the report. Responses to the remaining questions, primarily dealing with attitudes, will be presented in a later publication.

Further analysis of the data collected in the survey is currently in progress. This analysis is exploring the interaction between different variables covered in the survey, as for example, the relationship between nationality of respondents and their years of education and between length of residence in Boston and employment status. A second report will be issued upon completion of the analysis.

II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The Spanish-speaking population of Boston is comprised primarily of Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Approximately six out of ten Spanish-speaking households (60.4%) in the City are Puerto Rican, one-quarter (24.8%) are Cuban, and the remaining 13.8% are from other Latin countries.

Most of the Spanish-speaking in the City lived in small towns in their country of origin and have settled in Boston fairly recently. Slightly more than half (53.0%) of the Spanish-speaking currently living in Boston moved here in 1966 or later, and only 14.3% of the present Spanish-speaking population were living in the City as early as 1960.

Three-quarters of all Spanish-speaking households in Boston are found in four neighborhoods, three of which are located in the inner core of the City. The largest share of the population resides in Jamaica Plain and Roxbury-North Dorchester, each of which is the place of residence for about one-fifth of the households. 17.5% of the households live in the South End (formerly the area of greatest concentration), and 14.2% in Allston-Brighton.

Households headed by a male whose wife lives with him account for 65.0% of all Spanish-speaking households in Boston. Another 28.8% of the households are headed by a woman, with no husband present. 7.7% of the households are headed by a male, with no wife present. In 9.0% of the households, a second family related to the family of the head shares the living quarters.

The average size of a Spanish-speaking household in Boston is 4.6 persons. Half (50.9%) of all household members are less than 18 years of age, and the typical household contains 2.3 individuals under the age of 18. Only 9.9% of the population in Spanish-speaking households is 45 years of age or older.

While the majority of Spanish-speaking households consider their present economic situation to be an improvement over their situation in their native country, a large share of the households (42.2%) are on welfare and in 39.8% of the households not a single household member was employed in the week preceding the survey. In many cases, however, persons who were not working had not sought work in the preceding month, thus bringing down the rate of unemployment as conventionally defined.

Among respondents to the survey who are employed, the average hourly wage is $2.94, which amounts to $102.60 for a 35-hour week or to $117.60 for a 40-hour week. Most of these respondents (78.8%) do work full time, in the range of 35 to 40 hours weekly. In nearly two-thirds of the cases (61.8%), the jobs held by respondents are blue-collar in nature, and of these nearly all are in semi-skilled or unskilled categories. 66.8% of employed respondents found their present jobs through personal contacts or by other informal means and only 15.6% used the services of an employment or other agency for placement in their present jobs.

In general, educational levels among Spanish-speaking adults in Boston are low and school attendance patterns among Spanish-speaking children point to the continuation of problems related to educational deficiencies. Of adults interviewed for the survey, only 22.3% had completed high school, and 61.6% had only eight years of education or less. Over two-thirds of adults interviewed (69.1%) have little or no ability to speak English and approximately one out of five is illiterate or nearly illiterate in Spanish.

Nearly one-third (31.5%) of Spanish-speaking children from the ages of six through seventeen are not in school, and of those aged 16, 17, and 18 (normally the years during which children finish high school), 58.4% are not enrolled. Within the group from seven through eighteen who are in school, 44.0% are enrolled in grades lower than those usual for children of their particular age.

Approximately two-thirds of respondents to the survey characterize their health as being good to excellent, while 13.9% say it is poor or very poor. Interestingly, however, nearly a quarter (23.6%) of respondents say that, in relation to employment, they have health problems which limit the work they can do or prevent them entirely from finding or keeping a job.

Utilization of medical services by respondents is high. 60.7% of adults interviewed say they have received medical attention at least once during the past year. In most cases, treatment was obtained at a hospital or clinic, rather than from a private doctor, and in the majority of cases the facility visited was Boston City Hospital. With regard to dentistry, which lends itself particularly to preventive care, respondents have utilized professional services considerably less frequently. More than half (56.3%) of those interviewed say they have not visited a dentist at all in the past two years, and only 16.9% of respondents have seen a dentist at average intervals of 6 months or less over this period.

Nearly all (94.0%) Spanish-speaking households in Boston rent the housing units in which they live. The average gross rent (including utilities) paid monthly by the households is $123.00 and

28.5% of the households rent their unit for under $100.00 while 29.8% pay $150.00 or more per month. 46.0% of those interviewed say the unit in which they live needs some or many repairs and 43.9% say they have a problem with rats. Slightly less than a quarter (23.8%) of the households are interested in moving to public housing, but only 13.2% have actually applied for admission to a project.

Social contacts within the Spanish-speaking community appear to revolve primarily around family and friends, with membership in organizations of various types being rather limited. Nearly four out of ten persons interviewed (38.0%) moved to Boston primarily in order to be reunited with relatives or friends who were already living in the City, and almost two-thirds (61.6%) of respondents have relatives living in the same neighborhood as that in which they live. 16.4% of respondents say they belong to at least one voluntary organization, with membership in labor unions (to which 9.4% belong) and religious organizations (to which 5.6% belong) being highest.

Only 3.4% of those interviewed belong to voluntary Hispanic organizations and most agencies in Boston set up specifically to provide services to the Spanish-speaking are known to less than half of the persons interviewed. The Spanish-speaking service organization best known in the Spanish-speaking community is the Cardinal Cushing Center for the Spanish-Speaking, of which 63.1% of respondents have heard.

Although 65.1% of Spanish-speaking adults are U. S. citizens (including, of course, all Puerto Ricans in the City), less than one-quarter (23.1%) are registered to vote and only 11.4% have actually voted one or more times in the last four years.

III. MIGRATION

The Spanish-speaking population of Boston is almost entirely a population of migrants to the City rather than one of native-born individuals. The process by which households currently living in the City left their places of origin and settled at their present addresses is of interest not only in providing information on the background of the Spanish-speaking now in the City but also in indicating those factors which may influence continuing migration of households to and within Boston.

In this section, the migration history of the surveyed households is traced. The section is organized in two parts. In the first part, the pattern of movement of Spanish-speaking from their native countries to the Continental U. S. and to Boston in particular is described. In the second part, migration of the households within Boston is explored.

To Continental U. S. and Boston

The Spanish-speaking population of Boston is, for the most part, made up of recent migrants to the Continental U. S. Out of the total number of respondents to the survey, less than 1% were born in the U. S. Approximately two-thirds (67.4%) of respondents who migrated to the U. S. took up residence in this country in the years since 1960, and somewhat more than one-third (37.2%) have lived in the U. S. for five years or less. Only 14.1% have lived in the U. S. for twenty years or more.

TABLE 1. YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN CONTINENTAL U. S.

Year of Arrival	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
1970	19	2.5
1969	38	5.2
1968	86	11.8
1967	64	8.8
1966	65	8.8
1965	52	7.1
1964	39	5.3
1963	35	4.8
1962	41	5.6
1961	53	7.3
1960	33	4.5
1955-59	91	12.5
1950-54	69	9.5
1949 or before	34	4.7
No answer	11	1.5
TOTAL*	730	100.1**

*Table does not include 7 respondents who were born in the Continental U. S.

**Percent total on this and succeeding tables may not add up exactly to 100.0 due to rounding.

The country of birth of six out of ten respondents (60.4%) was Puerto Rico. 24.8% of respondents were born in Cuba and 13.8% in other Latin countries. Most respondents appear to have lived during their childhood (up to 13 years of age) in the same country as they were born. A small proportion of respondents (8 out of 737, or 1.1%) were born outside the Continental U. S. but had already moved here by the age of 13.

TABLE 2. COUNTRY WHERE BORN AND WHERE LIVED DURING CHILDHOOD

	Born		Lived During Childhood	
Country	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Continental U.S.	7	0.9	15	2.0
Puerto Rico	445	60.4	429	58.2
Cuba	183	24.8	187	25.4
Other Latin	102	13.8	101	13.7
No answer	-	-	5	0.7
TOTAL	737	99.9	737	100.0

Most respondents to the survey (53.5%) grew up in small towns, with populations of 50,000 or less. Only 12.6% of respondents grew up in rural areas. 32.2% spent their childhood in a city containing 50,000 or more inhabitants or in a metropolitan area. (According to the 1970 U. S. Census, the population of the City of Boston is 641,071 and that of the metropolitan area approximately 2.7 million.)

TABLE 3. TYPE OF PLACE IN WHICH SPENT CHILDHOOD

Type of Place	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Rural	93	12.6
Town of less than 10,000 inhabitants	209	28.4
Town of 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	186	25.2
City of 50,000 to 150,000 inhabitants	95	12.9
City or metropolitan area of more than 150,000 inhabitants	142	19.3
No answer	12	1.6
TOTAL	737	100.0

More than half of the Spanish-speaking now living in Boston initially came to the Unites States without a definite idea of taking up permanent residence in the country. Among respondents to the survey, 34.9% said they had not made up their minds about the length of time they would stay when they originally arrived and 8.6% planned to stay no more than six months. In all, 41.5% initially intended that their move be a permanent one.

TABLE 4. INTENTION TO STAY IN U. S.

Intention	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Planned to stay permanently	303	41.5
Planned to stay no more than 6 months	103	14.1
Planned to stay less than 6 months	59	8.1
No definite plans	255	34.9
No answer	10	1.4
TOTAL*	730	100.0

*Table does not include 7 respondents who were born in the Continental U. S.

The principal reason for moving to the U. S. given by respondents related in the largest number of cases (45.0%) to economic factors. 35.9% of respondents stated that they came in order to better their economic situation in general, and another 8.7% said they came specifically with the idea of finding a good job. Less than 1% stated they had been promised a particular job before coming to the U. S. Political factors were cited as the principal reason for moving to the U. S. by 24.2% of respondents, while 14.5% came to be reunited with family or friends.

TABLE 5. PRINCIPAL REASON FOR MIGRATION TO U. S.

REASON	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Economic)	(329)	(45.0)
Improve economic situation	262	35.9
Intention to find job in agriculture	33	4.5
Intention to find job in some other area	31	4.2
Promise of specific job in agriculture	1	0.1
Promise of specific job in some other area	2	0.3
(Political)	(177)	(24.2)
(Social)	(106)	(14.5)
Reunite with spouse or fiance	35	4.8
Reunite with other relatives or friends	71	9.7
(Other)	(94)	(12.9)
(No answer)	(24)	(3.3)
TOTAL*	730	99.9

*Table does not include 7 respondents who were born in the Continental U. S.

As to be expected, the short length of time most Spanish-speaking persons have lived in the Continental U. S. is reflected in the short length of time most have lived in the City of Boston. Among respondents to the survey, 53.0% moved to Boston within the last five years, and 17.4% within in the last two years. Only 14.3% of respondents were living in Boston in 1960 or earlier. On the average, respondents have lived in Boston 5.3 years.

TABLE 6. YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN BOSTON

Year of Arrival	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
1970	61	8.3
1969	67	9.1
1968	112	15.2
1967	89	12.1
1966	61	8.3
1965	49	6.6
1964	48	6.5
1963	48	6.5
1962	53	7.2
1961	31	4.2
1960	22	3.0
1955-59	58	7.9
1950-54	11	1.5
1949 or before	14	1.9
No answer	13	1.8
TOTAL	737	100.1

It will be recalled that the most common reasons (cited by 45.0% of respondents) that those interviewed left their native countries and came to the Continental U. S. were economic in nature, while another quarter (24.2%) of respondents came for political reasons. In choosing Boston in particular as a place to settle, economic reasons were again the deciding factor for a large portion of respondents (40.1%), but (as to be expected) political reasons were insignificant, while social factors (primarily a desire to reunite with relatives or friends already living in the City) became almost as important (cited by 39.8% of respondents) as economic considerations. It is also interesting to note that within the category of responses which can be termed "economic," job factors were proportionally more important in drawing respondents to Boston than to the U. S., although in both cases they were heavily outweighed by a general desire for economic betterment.

TABLE 7. PRINCIPAL REASON FOR MIGRATION TO BOSTON

REASON	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Economic)	(296)	(40.1)
Improve economic situation	211	28.6
Intention of finding good job	67	9.1
Promise of specific job	18	2.4
(Social)	(293)	(39.8)
Reunite with relatives or friends	280	38.0
Other family or personal factors	13	1.8
(Political)	(16)	(2.2)
(Other)	(119)	(16.1)
To study	20	2.7
Health reasons	7	0.9
All other	92	12.5
(No answer)	(13)	(1.8)
TOTAL	737	100.0

A large proportion (48.3%) of respondents who were born outside the Continental U. S. have visited their native country at least once since moving to the U. S., probably reflecting the ease of travel to these countries, as well as the maintenance by the Spanish-speaking of family and other ties to their places of origin. 15.5% of respondents have returned to their native countries three times or more since moving to the U. S.

TABLE 8. TRIPS TO NATIVE COUNTRY SINCE MOVE TO U. S.

Number of Trips	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	366	50.1
1	161	22.1
2	78	10.7
3	41	5.6
4	23	3.2
5 or more	49	6.7
No answer	12	1.6
TOTAL*	730	100.0

*Table does not include 7 respondents who were born in the Continental U. S.

Within Boston

Given the relatively short period of time most of Boston's present Spanish-speaking population has lived in the City, Spanish-speaking residents show a high degree of intracity mobility. It will be recalled that the average respondent to the survey has lived in Boston 5.3 years. On the average, he has also lived at three different addresses in the City. Out of all respondents, only 18.2% have lived at a single address in Boston and 15.1% have lived at five or more addresses.

TABLE 9. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT PLACES LIVED IN BOSTON

Number of Places	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
1	134	18.2
2	206	28.0
3	182	24.7
4	93	12.6
5 or more	112	15.1
No answer	10	1.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

At the present time, three-quarters (74.0%) of Spanish-speaking households in Boston live in four neighborhoods, three of which are located at the innermost core of the City. Roxbury-North Dorchester and Jamaica Plain hold the greatest number of households. Each of these neighborhoods is the place of residence for approximately one-fifth of all Spanish-speaking households. A third inner-core neighborhood, the South End, is the place of residence for an additional 17.5% of the households and Allston-Brighton, at the western perimeter of the City, for 14.2%.

Over time, the pattern of movement of Spanish-speaking households in Boston appears to have involved primarily a spreading out and filling in of population in the four neighborhoods noted above, with the South End becoming relatively a less attractive place of residence for households. While the four neighborhoods together provided the first place of residence for approximately the same share (74.1%) of the interviewed households as they now provide, the South End was the initial address of fully 30.5% of the households, while Jamaica Plain housed only 14.2% of the households when they first moved to Boston, and Allston-Brighton 8.5%. Roxbury-North Dorchester was the first Boston address for approximately the same share of interviewed households as it is now the address for these households.

Although most movement of the interviewed households since they settled in Boston has been between the four neighborhoods of the South End, Roxbury-North Dorchester, Jamaica Plain, and Allston-Brighton, significant numbers of the households have also migrated into two other neighborhoods, Parker Hill-Fenway and Columbia Point. The latter of these two neighborhoods is the largest public housing project in Boston and the former contains a significant number of public housing units. Together, Parker Hill-Fenway and Columbia Point were the initial Boston address for less than 1% of the interviewed households, while they are the current address of 11.8% of the households.

TABLE 10. COMPARISON OF FIRST AND PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN BOSTON

AREA	Respondents in area as first place of residence		Respondents in area as present place of residence		Change in respondent population	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Allston-Brighton	63	8.5	105	14.2	+42	+66.3
Charlestown*	--	--	--	--	--	--
Columbia Point	6	0.8	36	4.9	+30	+500.0
Dorchester	47	6.4	45	6.1	-2	-3.4
East Boston	7	0.9	3	0.4	-4	-57.1
Jamaica Plain	105	14.2	160	21.7	+55	+51.8
North End*	2	0.3	--	--	--	--
Parker Hill-Fenway	1	0.1	51	6.9	+50	+4980.0
Roxbury-North Dorchester	154	20.9	159	21.6	+5	+3.5
South Boston	16	2.2	13	1.8	-3	-19.8
South End	225	30.5	129	17.5	-96	-42.6
Other Boston	55	7.5	36	4.9	-19	-33.8
No answer*	56	7.6	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	737	99.9	737	100.0	--	--

*The distribution of present place of residence is identical to the distribution of addresses of the households which were interviewed, as determined by the sampling procedure. All present addresses were thus known and there are, consequently, no "No answers" on present place of residence. No households were interviewed in the North End or Charlestown and, therefore, none appear with either of these areas as the present place of residence. Those households, now living elsewhere, which first lived in the North End appear in the column specifying the North End as first place of residence. No households which were interviewed stated that Charlestown was their first place of residence.

The reason most households have moved since settling in Boston has been in an attempt to improve the quality of the housing they occupy. Location as such, in terms of access to employment or social opportunities or in terms of the attractiveness of particular neighborhoods, has not been a major factor in spurring migration, and few households have attempted to reduce the rent they pay by changing addresses. In all, 51.6% of the households which have moved since coming to Boston left their last previous address so as to obtain better conditions (27.4%) or more space (24.2%) in their dwelling unit. The next greatest share of households (14.4%) made their last move from a unit which they shared, because they wanted to have their own dwelling unit. Location was the deciding factor for 9.1% of households who have changed addresses, and reduction in rent the factor for only 3.6% of the households.

TABLE 11. REASON FOR MOVE FROM LAST PREVIOUS ADDRESS IN BOSTON

REASON	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Housing Quality)	(306)	(51.6)
Improve condition of dwelling unit	163	27.5
Obtain more space	143	24.1
(Location)	(54)	(9.1)
Be closer to work	15	2.5
Be closer to relatives or friends	17	2.9
Live in better neighborhood	22	3.7
(Economics - Pay Less Rent)	(21)	(3.5)
(Other)	(200)	(33.8)
Have own dwelling unit	86	14.5
Evicted	36	6.1
All other	78	13.2
(No answer)	(12)	(2.0)
TOTAL*	593	100.0

*Table includes only those households which have lived at more than one address in Boston.

Although the data collected in the present survey is not in itself sufficient to provide a description of changes in the absolute numbers of Spanish-speaking persons to be found in each neighborhood of Boston, combined with other information and making use of certain assumptions, it can illuminate to some degree the trends of change in the settlement patterns of the total population.

In 1960, the U. S. Census counted a total of 955 persons in the City of Boston who were born in Puerto Rico or were of Puerto Rican parentage. If in 1960 as at the present time, Puerto Ricans comprised 60.4% of Spanish-speaking households in Boston and if it is assumed that household size is the same for Puerto Ricans and other Latins, then the total Spanish-speaking population in 1960 (Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican) can be estimated to have been 1,581 (or rounded, 1,600). For purposes of analysis, we will assume the present Spanish-speaking population of the City of Boston to be 15,000, bearing in mind, however, that estimates of its size have ranged to as much as 40,000.

Knowing the distribution between neighborhoods of the sampled households at their first address in Boston and recalling the average length of time these households have been in Boston (5.3 years), we will then wish to derive an estimate of the total Spanish-speaking population of the City in 1965 (approximately 5.3 years before the date of the survey) to which we can apply the distribution figures. Assuming that the Spanish-speaking population in Boston has increased by a constant amount in each year from 1960 to 1970, the 1965 population would have been 8,300, split between the various neighborhoods as indicated by first addresses of the sampled households. Finally, applying the figures on present household distribution between neighborhoods to a total population estimate of 15,000 for 1970, we obtain estimates of total Spanish-speaking population in each neighborhood in 1970.

The resulting estimates of numbers of Spanish-speaking in each neighborhood in 1965 and 1970 indicate the following patterns in the settlement of the total Spanish-speaking population within Boston over the last five-year period. The number of Spanish-speaking living in the South End, the area which initially held the largest share of Spanish-speaking in the City, appears to have remained fairly constant. As indicated by the intra-city migration history of the sampled households, individual households have tended to move out of the South End after initially settling there. These households are apparently being replaced by other households, keeping the total Spanish-speaking population of the area relatively stable. The number of Spanish-speaking in East Boston, never an important place of settlement, also appears to have remained about the same from 1965 to 1970.

In the outlying parts of Boston not contained in the eleven specified neighborhoods, there appears to have been a moderate increase (at a rate of 20%, according to the estimated figures) over the past five years. In South Boston, an increase of 50% would appear to have been registered. In both the outlying areas and South Boston, the increase of Spanish-speaking population in terms of absolute numbers seems to have been fairly small (under 150 persons in each), reflecting the limited size of the initial settlement.

Both Roxbury-North Dorchester and Dorchester appear to have nearly doubled their Spanish-speaking populations in the last five years, the increase having been at an estimated rate of 70% in the former and 90% in the latter neighborhood. In terms of absolute numerical increase, Roxbury-North Dorchester appears to have gained approximately 1,500 residents and Dorchester close to 400.

A tripling or near tripling of Spanish-speaking population in the past five years is indicated for Allston-Brighton, with a gain of approximately 1,400 persons, and Jamaica Plain, with a gain of approximately 2,100 persons, the largest numerical increase in any area. Finally, the Spanish-speaking population in two areas with very small settlements five years ago, Parker Hill-Fenway and Columbia Point, appears to be more than ten times larger in 1970 than in 1965, with a gain of approximately 1,000 persons in the former and 700 in the latter area.

IV. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The Spanish-speaking population of Boston is predominantly young and family-centered, there being few adults past child-rearing age and few persons living alone or with other individuals unrelated to them. The age and sex composition of a population and the patterns by which it is grouped in households are important elements in the population's basic social structure and have implications for its needs in many functional areas. In terms of needs, the age composition of a population, for example, is an important factor in determining the demands it places on the educational system, sex composition and household headship types influence the population's participation in the job market, and the distribution of households by their size affects the population's requirements for housing.

This section is divided into two parts. In the first part, a breakdown by age and sex of all individuals who are members of the sampled households is presented. In the second part, the grouping of these individuals into households of different types is described.

Age and Sex of Individuals in Households

In all, 3,359 individuals are members of the 737 households sampled in the survey. Within this population, males and females are almost equally represented.

TABLE 12. SEX OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLDS

Sex	Number of Individuals	% of Individuals
Male	1,662	49.5
Female	1,696	50.5
TOTAL	3,359	100.0

The average age of individuals in the households is 21.2 years and most of the population is comprised of children and young adults. Out of the total population, 20.2% are five years old or less, and another 30.7% are six through seventeen years old. Only about one out of ten individuals in the sampled households (9.9%) is forty-five years of age or older, and only 2.0% of individuals are sixty-five or more.

TABLE 13. AGE OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLDS

AGE	Number of Individuals	% of Individuals
(0-5)	(679)	(20.2)
Under 2	180	5.4
2	137	4.1
3	112	3.3
4	125	3.7
5	125	3.7
(6-17)	(1,034)	(30.7)
6	115	3.4
7-9	297	8.9
10-13	364	10.8
14	78	2.3
15	67	2.0
16	55	1.6
17	58	1.7
(18-44)	(1,298)	(38.6)
18	60	1.8
19	71	2.1
20	38	1.1
21	63	1.9
22-24	176	5.2
25-29	298	8.9
30-34	237	7.1
35-39	209	6.2
40-44	146	4.3
(45-64)	(269)	(7.9)
45-49	82	2.4
50-54	75	2.2
55-59	66	2.0
60-61	18	0.5
62-64	28	0.8
(65 and over)	(67)	(2.0)
(No answer)	(12)	(0.4)
TOTAL	3,359	99.8

Structure of Households

Two major types of households are represented in significant numbers among the Spanish-speaking population of Boston. The first type of household, which accounts for 63.5% of the sample, is the household headed by a male whose wife lives with him. The seoond type of household, accounting for 27.4% of the sample, is the household headed by a female, there being no adult male present. The remaining 7.7% of households in the sample are headed by a male, with no wife present.

TABLE 14. TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD BY HEADSHIP

Headship Type	Number of Households	% of Households
Male, with wife present	468	65.0
Female	212	28.8
Male, no wife present	57	7.7
TOTAL	737	100.0

The average Spanish-speaking household has 4.6 members and there is a fairly even distribution of households of different sizes. 35.6% of the sampled households contain three or less members, 36.4% contain four or five members, and 28.0% contain six or more members.

Size of household varies rather significantly according to type. The size of the average household in the sample headed by a male whose wife lives with him is 5.0 persons. The size of the average household in the sample headed by a female is 4.2 members. Households headed by a male with no wife present average only 2.1 members

These differences in average size reflect significant differences in size distributions between household types. More than half (54.4%) of men with no wife present live alone. Only 2.8% of women with no adult male present live alone. Among households headed by a male whose wife lives with him, only 25.9% consist of three or less members, while 44.3% of female headed households are in this size range, and 84.2% of households headed by a male with no wife present. At the other end of the scale, 33.2% of husband and wife households consist of six or more members, while 23.2% of female headed households and only 1.8% of households headed by a male with no wife present are in this grouping.

TABLE 15. SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY HEADSHIP TYPE

Number of Individuals in Household	Male Head with Wife		Female Head		Male Head Without Wife		All Households	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	--	--	6	2.8	31	54.4	37	5.0
2	57	12.2	36	17.0	9	15.8	102	13.8
3	64	13.7	52	24.5	8	14.0	124	16.8
4	109	23.3	46	21.7	4	7.0	159	21.6
5	83	17.7	23	10.8	4	7.0	110	14.9
6	57	12.2	18	8.5	--	--	75	10.2
7	34	7.3	12	5.7	--	--	46	6.2
8	32	6.8	11	5.2	1	1.8	44	6.0
9 or more	32	6.8	8	3.9	--	--	40	5.5
TOTAL	468	100.0	212	100.0	57	100.0	737	99.9

Over half the individuals in the households (53.9%) are children (of whatever age) of the head of the household. About 15% are wives of a male head of household. About 8% are relatives of either the household head or, in the case of male heads, his wife. Only 1.8% of individuals residing in the households have no familial relationships to either the head of the household or to the wife of a male head.

TABLE 16. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Status in Household	Number of Individuals	% of Individuals
(Head & Immediate Family Members)	(3,015)	(89.7)
Head	737	21.9
Wife of male head	468	13.9
Child of head	1,810	53.9
(Extended Family Members)	(281)	(8.3)
Mother of head, or of head's wife	40	1.2
Father of head, or of head's wife	27	0.8
Brother or sister of head, or of head's wife	99	2.9
Other relative of head, or of head's wife	115	3.4
(Individuals unrelated to Head or Head's Wife)	(63)	(1.8)
Friends from native country	43	1.2
Friends from U. S.	8	0.2
Other individuals	12	0.4
TOTAL	3,359	99.8

The majority of those persons living in the household who are related to the head or his wife are themselves part of sub-family groupings within the household. In all, 9.0% of the households contain, in addition to the nuclear family of the head, at least one other nuclear family related to the head's nuclear family.

TABLE 17. SUB-FAMILIES IN HOUSEHOLDS

Number of Sub-Families in Household	Number of Households	% of Households
0	640	86.8
1	61	8.3
2	5	0.7
No answer	31	4.2
TOTAL	737	100.0

V. EDUCATION

Less than one-quarter of Spanish-speaking adults in Boston have had as much as a high school education and many of their school-age children are not currently enrolled in school. Educational deficiences on the part of adults in a population usually place severe obstacles in the way of their finding well paying jobs, and problems with the schooling of children will generally be reflected in their later earning abilities.

In this section, data on the educational background of the Spanish-speaking population in Boston is presented. The section is organized in two parts. In the first, information relating to the educational attainment, aspirations, and attitudes of adults is provided. In the second, the school status of children is examined.

Adults

The level of formal education attained by adults in the survey is generally very low. Among respondents, 8.0% were found to have had no formal schooling at all, 61.6% to have had only eight years of education or less, and only 22.3% to have finished high school or gone beyond.

TABLE 18. YEARS OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

Number of Years	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	59	8.0
1-4	132	17.9
5-8	263	35.7
9-11	118	16.0
12	75	10.2
13-15	50	6.8
16	13	1.8
17+	26	3.5
No answer	--	--
TOTAL	737	99.9

While respondents' schooling is generally very limited, the educational attainment of their fathers was even less. A quarter of the fathers of respondents never attended school, and only 9.7% finished high school or went beyond. On the average, respondents to the survey had 7.5 years of school. Their fathers, on the average, had 4.8 years of school.

TABLE 19. YEARS OF EDUCATION OF FATHERS OF RESPONDENTS

Number of Years	Number of Fathers	% of Fathers
0	191	25.9
1-4	129	17.5
5-8	171	23.2
9-11	49	6.6
12	32	4.3
13-15	11	1.5
16	3	0.4
17+	26	3.5
No answer	125	17.0
TOTAL	737	99.9

Reflecting deficiences in their formal educations, approximately one-fifth of respondents evidence lack of literacy in Spanish. 21.1% read Spanish a little or not at all and 22.1% write Spanish a little or not at all.

TABLE 20. LITERACY IN SPANISH

	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
ABLE TO READ SPANISH		
Yes	512	69.5
A little	74	10.1
No	81	11.0
No answer	70	9.5
TOTAL	737	100.1
ABLE TO WRITE SPANISH		
Yes	504	68.4
A little	70	9.5
No	93	12.6
No answer	70	9.5
TOTAL	737	100.0

Asked if they would be interested in improving their ability to read and write Spanish, 30.1% of respondents answered "yes," and another 8.5% "maybe." The proportion (38.6%) evidencing some interest in improving their Spanish was thus considerably higher than the proportions which stated they had limited or no ability to read Spanish (21.1%) or write Spanish (22.1%), indicating that even among those respondents who are literate in their native language, a need for improving language skills is felt.

TABLE 21. INTEREST IN IMPROVING ABILITY TO READ AND WRITE SPANISH

Whether Interested	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	222	30.1
Maybe	63	8.5
No	445	60.4
No answer	7	0.9
TOTAL	737	99.9

As expected, considerably higher numbers of respondents said they were unable to read and write English than Spanish, with a large proportion also unable to speak the language. 69.1% of respondents said they had limited or no ability to speak English, 71.5% so characterized their ability to read English, and 76.2% their ability to write English.

TABLE 22. LITERACY IN ENGLISH

	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
ABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH		
Yes	222	30.1
A little	317	43.0
No	192	26.1
No answer	6	0.8
TOTAL	737	100.0
ABLE TO READ ENGLISH		
Yes	206	28.0
A little	222	30.1
No	305	41.4
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	100.0
ABLE TO WRITE ENGLISH		
Yes	172	23.3
A little	155	21.0
No	407	55.2
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

Respondents generally reacted with a high degree of interest when asked whether they wanted to improve their English language skills, with 66.2% stating they would be interested in learning to read and write English better either "soon" or "immediately." However, the proportion of respondents who indicated a strong desire to improve their English is somewhat smaller than the proportion which has little or no ability to read English (71.5%) and the proportion which has little or no ability to write English (76.2%).

TABLE 23. INTEREST IN IMPROVING ABILITY TO READ AND WRITE ENGLISH

Whether Interested	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
No	122	16.6
Maybe	117	15.9
Yes	488	66.2
No answer	10	1.3
TOTAL	737	100.0

Asked the reason they were not greatly interested in improving their English, the largest share of respondents (43.1%) who lacked such interest said it was because their English was already adequate. Another 19.7%, however, said the reason was they lacked the time to improve their language skills, 14.2% said they were too old, and 5.4% said they were planning to return to their native country.

TABLE 24. REASON FOR LACK OF STRONG INTEREST IN IMPROVING ABILITY TO READ AND WRITE ENGLISH

Reason	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
English already sufficient	103	43.1
English too difficult	7	2.9
No time	47	19.7
Too old to learn	34	14.2
Returning home	13	5.4
Sick	5	2.1
Other	20	8.4
No answer	10	4.2
TOTAL*	239	100.0

*Total does not include 488 respondents who said they were interested in improving their English "soon" or "immediately" or who did not answer the question on whether they were interested in improving their English.

When asked specifically if they would be seriously interested in attending English classes at night, being paid a small sum to attend, respondents evidenced somewhat less interest than when the question of interest in improving their English was posed generally. 36.9% stated positively that they would be interested in such an arrangement, and an additional 11.9% said they might be interested, depending on the sum paid.

TABLE 25. SERIOUS INTEREST IN ATTENDING ENGLISH CLASSES AT NIGHT WITH SMALL REMUNERATION

Whether Interested	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	272	36.9
Maybe (depending on amount paid)	88	11.9
No	333	45.2
No answer	44	6.0
TOTAL	737	100.0

Despite the generally low educational achievements of adults included in the survey (and perhaps because of difficulties they have consequently faced), respondents to the survey for the most part place a high value on education. Asked whether a good education improves one's situation in life, an overwhelming majority (95.1%) of respondents answered unequivocally in the affirmative.

TABLE 26. WHETHER GOOD EDUCATION IMPROVES ONE'S SITUATION IN LIFE

Whether Improves Situation	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	701	95.1
Perhaps	28	3.8
No	4	0.5
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	99.9

With regard to their children, a large majority of respondents again indicated that they feel education is of great importance. Asked if they would prefer their children to get a job and earn a living as soon as possible or to remain in school as long as possible, 95.1% of respondents answered that they would prefer to have their children remain in school.

TABLE 27. WHETHER CHILDREN SHOULD EARN LIVING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OR STAY IN SCHOOL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE*

Whether Should Earn Living or Stay in School	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Earn living	19	2.6
Stay in school	701	95.1
No answer	17	2.3
TOTAL	737	100.0

*On this question and the question tabulated in the succeeding table, respondents without children were asked to answer how they would feel if they did in the future have children.

Asked exactly how much education they would like their children to have at a minimum, respondents were almost equally split among those who said they would consider this minimum to be completion of high school and those who said graduation from college would constitute the minimum they hope for. Less than 1% of respondents stated their minimal educational objective for their children is less than completion of high school. At the other end of the scale, 9.1% of respondents said they hope that their children will at a minimum obtain one or more years of education at the post-graduate level. Slightly more than one-fifth (22.9%) of respondents, it should be noted, offered no opinion on the issue.

TABLE 28. MINIMUM AMOUNT OF EDUCATION DESIRED FOR CHILDREN*

Years of Education	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Less than 12	7	0.9
12	223	30.3
13-15	34	4.6
16	237	32.2
17 or more	67	9.1
No answer	169	22.9
TOTAL	737	100.0

*See note for preceding table.

Children of School Age

Nearly a third (30.5%) of children aged six through seventeen living in the households included in the survey did not attend school the previous year. (It will be recalled that the survey was conducted during the summer of 1970.) Among children from the ages of seven through fifteen, when school attendance is legally mandatory in Boston, 26.0% were not enrolled in school. The highest proportion of out-of-school children within this group was in the twelve through fifteen age bracket, where 34.0% were not enrolled. The proportion not in school rose to 58.4% among children aged sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen.*

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*It should be noted that we expected to have difficulty in obtaining from respondents candid responses to the question of whether or not children were enrolled in school. Despite our thorough efforts to assure respondents that we had no connection with the School Department (or with other administrative agency), and that absolute confidentiality would be maintained with regard to each and every individual interview schedule, we expected that some respondents would be reluctant to tell us that one or several of their children, of legally required school age, were not in fact enrolled in school.

To obtain as accurate information as possible on this point, we made use of data we received on three separate questions in the interview schedule, not one of which associated the age of a child with whether he was or was not enrolled in school. In the first section of the questionnaire (Household Composition), we obtained names and ages of all children in the household, as part of an overall listing of household members. Approximately half way through the interview (in the section on Education), coming after two questions designed to obtain the respondent's evaluation of the treatment of Hispanic schildren in schools, we asked whether any of the children of the household were enrolled in school the preceding year, phrasing the question as follows: "Latin children nearly always have problems when they have to go to school where almost everyone speaks English. These schools appear not to understand the children. In view of these problems, did you send any of your children to school during the past year?" If the answer to this question was "Yes," the respondent was asked in the subsequent question to give the name of each child who was in school and the grade he was in.

TABLE 29. SCHOOL STATUS OF CHILDREN

Age of Child	In School		Out of School		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
4	4	3.3	121	96.7	125	100.0
5	24	19.2	101	80.8	125	100.0
6	61	53.0	54	47.0	115	100.0
7	87	69.0	39	31.0	126	100.0
8	83	75.5	27	24.5	110	100.0
9	49	81.7	11	18.3	60	100.0
10	100	81.3	3	18.7	123	100.0
11	104	83.9	20	16.1	124	100.0
12	57	86.4	9	13.6	66	100.0
13	40	78.4	11	21.6	51	100.0
14	41	52.6	37	47.4	78	100.0
15	35	52.2	32	47.8	67	100.0
16	40	72.7	15	27.3	55	100.0
17	21	36.2	37	65.8	58	100.0
18	11	18.3	49	81.7	60	100.0
SUB-TOTALS						
4-6	89	24.4	276	75.6	365	100.0
7-15	596	74.0	209	26.0	805	100.0
12-15	173	66.0	89	34.0	262	100.0
16-18	72	41.6	101	58.4	173	100.0
6-17	718	69.5	315	30.5	1,033	100.0

Among those children from the ages of seven through eighteen who were enrolled in school, almost half (44.0%) were enrolled in grades lower than their age alone would indicate.* Older children appear particularly likely to be found in grades lower than expected, with there being a marked falling back in grade level for children fourteen and above. Among children seven through thirteen years, 35.4% are one year or more behind their expected grade level. Among those fourteen through eighteen years, 74.3% are behind their expected grade level.

TABLE 30. GRADE LEVEL FOR CHILDREN IN SCHOOL

Age of Child	At Expected Grade Level		1 Year of More Behind Expected Grade Level		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
(7-13)	(366)	(64.6)	(184)	(35.4)	(520)	(100.0)
7	84	96.6	3	3.4	87	100.0
8	61	73.5	22	26.5	83	100.0
9	21	42.9	28	57.1	49	100.0
10	56	56.0	44	44.0	100	100.0
11	57	54.8	47	45.2	104	100.0
12	32	56.1	25	43.9	57	100.0
13	25	62.5	15	37.5	40	100.0
(14-18)	(38)	(25.7)	(110)	(74.3)	(148)	(100.0)
14	12	29.3	29	70.7	41	100.0
15	9	25.7	26	74.3	35	100.0
16	6	15.0	34	85.0	40	100.0
17	7	33.3	14	66.7	21	100.0
18	4	36.4	7	63.6	11	100.0
TOTAL*	374	56.0	294	44.0	668	100.0

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*For purposes of this analysis, it was assumed that a child whose age was specified as seven years in the survey should have been enrolled in the first grade, one aged eight in the second grade, and so on. In point of fact, the majority of first graders in the Boston school system are aged six. Since field work for the present survey was done in July and August, and questions about school enrollment were phrased to refer to the preceding school year, many of those children who were aged seven at the time of ths survey were aged six during the school year in question. On balance, we believe that such distortion as may exist in the above analysis because of the timing of the interviews in relation to that of the school year is weighted on the side of a slight undercount of children behind expected grade level.

Despite the fact that a high proportion of the children in the sample who are in school are behind their grade level, a relatively small share of respondents (15.6%) stated that their in-school children have had problems with the way they have been treated in the Boston schools. 82.1% of respondents with children in school said their children have had no problems along these lines.

TABLE 31. WHETHER CHILDREN HAVE HAD PROBLEMS IN WAY TREATED IN BOSTON SCHOOLS

Occurrence of Problems	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
No	257	82.1
Yes, once or twice	23	7.3
Yes, many times	26	8.3
No answer	7	2.2
TOTAL*	313	99.9

*Table does not include 424 respondents from households for which no children age 4 through 19 were listed as being in school.

Asked to state what kind of problem their children have had in school, if they had a problem, the largest portion of respondents (32.6%) mentioned difficulties with black students. Other problems which were mentioned prominently related to language barriers (16.3%) and to discrimination (14.3%). Teachers, per se, were singled out as being the cause of problems by only 8.1% of respondents.

TABLE 32. KIND OF PROBLEM EXPERIENCED BY CHILDREN IN SCHOOL

Kind of Problem	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Language	8	16.3
Teachers lack understanding	1	2.0
Teachers hit children	3	6.1
Blacks fight	15	30.6
Blacks steal	1	2.0
Discrimination	7	14.3
Other	2	4.1
No answer	12	24.5
TOTAL*	49	99.9

*Table does not include 688 respondents from household without children in school or from households with children who the respondent stated had had no problems in school.

In view of the large proportion of households containing school age children who are not in school, as well as the admission of a portion of respondents (admittedly small) that their children who are in school are having problems, visits of school officials to households included in the survey do not appear to have occurred as often as might be expected. 58.9% of respondents in households containing one or more children four years old or over stated stated no one had visited them from the schools, while only 17.2% said they had received at least one such visit*.

TABLE 33. NUMBER OF VISITS FROM SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Number of Visits	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	308	58.9
1	30	5.7
2-3	50	9.6
4+	10	1.9
No answer	125	23.9
TOTAL**	523	100.0

**Table does not include 214 respondents from households containing no children 4 through 19 years of age.

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*It should be noted that a significant share (23.8%) of respondents from all households with children aged 4 through 19 failed to answer the question on visits from school officials. Among the sub-category of respondents from households with children in this age range who were in school (i.e., excluding households with children not in school), the rate of response was considerably better, with only 3.2% of the group failing to answer the question. Among this group of respondents, 72.2% stated they had never received a visit from a school official, 7.4% said one visit had been made, 13.9% said two or three visits had been made, and 3.1% said four or more visits had been made.

In about half of the cases, respondents who said they had been visited by an official from the schools stated that this person or persons had spoken Spanish.

TABLE 34. WHETHER SCHOOL OFFICIAL(S) WHO VISITED SPOKE SPANISH

Whether Official(s) Spoke Spanish	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
No	43	47.8
1 did, 1 didn't	4	4.4
Yes	41	45.6
No answer	2	2.2
TOTAL*	90	100.0

*Table includes only those respondents who said they had received a visit or visits from school officials.

Asked to state their general evaluation of what local schools are doing to help Latin children, respondents evidenced a wide variety of opinions. Approximately one-fifth of respondents said local schools are doing very little or nothing to help Latin children, and another fifth stated the schools are doing some good. One-third of respondents said the schools are doing many good things or as much as possible, with one-quarter of all respondents being of the latter opinion. Somewhat less than a quarter of respondents offered no opinion on the matter.

TABLE 35. RESPONDENT'S EVALUATION OF WHAT LOCAL SCHOOLS ARE DOING TO HELP LATIN CHILDREN

Schools Doing	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Nothing	76	10.3
Very little	78	10.6
Some good things	162	22.0
Many good things	59	8.0
As much as possible	186	25.2
No answer	176	23.9
TOTAL	737	100.0

Respondents offered four major suggestions as to what more local schools could do to help Latin children, with half of the suggestions directly related to the language problem and another half not directly related. The single suggestion most often made was an increase in the number of Spanish-speaking teachers, and also suggested with frequency were more bilingual programs. Other items mentioned with frequency were a need for schools to be located closer to the children's homes, and a need for hot meals. It should be noted that nearly one out of two respondents who felt the schools were not doing all they could for Latin children had no specific suggestions to make to change the situation.

TABLE 36. RESPONDENT'S SUGGESTIONS FOR WHAT MORE SCHOOLS COULD DO TO HELP LATIN CHILDREN

Suggestion	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Directly Related To Language)	(96)	(25.7)
Teach Spanish	15	4.0
More Spanish-speaking teachers	49	13.1
More bilingual programs	28	7.5
Maintain grade level despite language problems	4	1.1
(Other)	(95)	(25.4)
More psychiatric help	1	0.3
More involvement with students' problems	12	3.2
Hot meals	22	5.9
Schools located closer	30	8.0
Other	30	8.0
(No answer)	(184)	(49.0)
TOTAL*	375	100.1

*Table does not include those respondents who answered the previous question by saying they feel local schools are doing as much as possible for Latin children or who failed to answer this question.

VI. EMPLOYMENT

The majority of respondents to the survey are not currently employed and among those who are employed the kinds of jobs held are generally those paying low wages and not utilizing a high level of skill. Given these employment patterns, many Spanish-speaking households must of necessity depend on sources of income other than wages and salaries; or, if depending on job-related income, exist at a minimal standard of living.

In the present survey, the respondent was asked to describe his employment situation; and, additionally, if he or she was not the head of the household, the employment situation of the person who is the head. Processing of the employment data obtained, as of the rest of the data collected in the survey, involved the simple aggregation of responses to each question rather than subtotaling of responses by the characteristics of the respondent. Thus it is not possible at this point to separate out, for example, the rate of unemployment for all heads of households as opposed to that for all other household members or the occupations engaged in by males as opposed to those engaged in by females. While certain assumptions may be made (and have been made in this section) regarding variations in employment by household status and sex, the data collected on employment must await cross-tabulation processing to provide a full picture of employment among the Spanish-speaking.

The section following is organized in three major parts. In the first part, labor force participation is discussed. The second part presents information on the characteristics of the jobs held by these persons who are employed. In the third part, previous employment patterns among respondents are presented.

Labor Force Participation

In approximately four out of ten households included in the survey (39.8%), not a single household member was employed for 30 hours or more in the week preceding the survey. In another three out of ten households (31.6%), one household member worked 30 or more hours during that week, and in slightly more than a quarter of the households (27.3%), two or more members were working during the period in question.

TABLE 37. NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS EMPLOYED

Number of Members Employed	Number of Households	% of Households
None	293	39.8
1	233	31.6
2	154	20.9
3	33	4.5
4 or more	14	1.9
No answer	10	1.4
TOTAL	737	100.1

Among respondents to the survey, only half (52.0%) participate in the labor force; i.e., either hold a job or actively sought a job in the month preceding the survey. 44.6% of respondents do not enter the labor market at all, being neither employed not active in seeking employment.

TABLE 38. PARTICIPATION IN LABOR FORCE

Labor Force Status	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
In labor force	383	52.0
Not in labor force	329	44.6
No answer	25	3.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

The largest share (42.6%) of respondents who are not in the labor force state that the reason they are neither employed nor seeking employment is that they have domestic responsibilities which prevent them from working. The majority, if not all, of these respondents, who number 140, may be presumed to be women. Since only 101 respondents from the total sample are wives of male heads of households, at least 39 of those who are not in the labor force for reason of domestic responsibilities must be female heads of households, the other category of female respondents, which totals in all 195 persons.

The reason for non-participation in the labor force cited second most frequently (by 32.8% of all those who are not employed and not seeking employment) is sickness or an accident. If the group of respondents who have reasons other than domestic responsibilities to explain their non-participation in the labor force is presumed to be entirely male, then health problems are the reason offered by 53.1% of non-working males to explain their labor force status.

Reasons for non-participation in the labor force other than domestic responsibilities and health problems were cited by relatively few respondents. No other explanation was offered by as many as 5% of respondents, and only 2.1% said language problems prevent them from working or seeking work.

TABLE 39. REASON FOR NON-PARTICIPATION OF RESPONDENTS IN LABOR FORCE

Reason	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Sickness or accident	108	32.8
Retired	5	1.5
Taking care of family and home	140	42.6
Language problems	7	2.1
Training or studying	16	4.9
Pregnancy	5	1.5
Other reasons	12	3.6
No answer	36	10.9
TOTAL*	329	99.9

*Table includes only those respondents who are not in the labor force; i.e., those who are neither employed nor actively seeking work.

That labor force participation among Spanish-speaking women in particular may be low is suggested by the attitudes of respondents towards married women working. By nearly three to one, respondents feel that a woman should stay home and take care of her children rather than work and have someone else take care of the children.

TABLE 40. RESPONDENT'S OPINION ON WHETHER MARRIED WOMAN SHOULD WORK OR STAY HOME WITH CHILDREN

Opinion	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Stay home with children	536	72.7
Work	191	25.9
No answer	10	1.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

While labor force participation among respondents is low, the rate of unemployment (conventionally defined as the proportion in the labor force who are not working) is not strikingly high. Among respondents to the survey who are in the labor force, 6.3% are unemployed. (It should be recalled that a person who is not working but who also is not seeking employment is counted as "not in the labor force" rather than as "unemployed.")

TABLE 41. EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG MEMBERS OF LABOR FORCE

Employment Status	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Employed	359	93.7
Unemployed	24	6.3
TOTAL*	383	100.0

*Table does not include 329 respondents who are not in the labor force as well as 25 respondents for whom labor force status was not specified.

Characteristics of Jobs

More than three out of four (78.8%) respondents who are employed work full time (35 to 40 hours). Only 6.2% of respondents who have a job work part time, or less than 35 hours per week, while 14.2% of employed respondents work more than 40 hours weekly.

TABLE 42. HOURS WORKED WEEKLY

Number of Hours	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Less than 20	6	1.7
20-34	16	4.5
35	19	5.3
36-40	264	73.5
More than 40	51	14.2
No answer	3	0.8
TOTAL*	359	100.0

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

On the average, employed respondents are paid an hourly wage of $2.94, and half (51.6%) of all employed respondents earn between $2.00 and $3.00 per hour. A very small share of respondents (2.5%) earn less than the legal minimum wage, $1.60 per hour, but at the other end of the scale only 7.2% are paid an hourly wage of $5.00 or more.

TABLE 43. HOURLY RATE OF PAY FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS

Rate	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Less than $1.60	9	2.5
1.60-$1.99	20	5.6
2.00 - 2.49	85	23.7
2.50 - 2.99	100	27.9
3.00 - 3.49	46	12.8
3.50 - 3.99	26	7.2
4.00 - 4.49	12	3.3
4.50 - 4.99	3	0.8
5.00 - 5.49	11	3.1
5.50 - 5.99	8	2.2
6.00 or more	7	1.9
No answer	32	8.9
TOTAL*	359	99.9

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

Two out of three respondents who are employed (66.8%) found their present job through personal contacts or other informal means. Employment agencies and other institutions, with the publicly funded Division of Employment Security and ABCD being the most important of these, aided in the placement of 15.6% of respondents. Only 5.8% of respondents found their present job through an advertisement in a newspaper or other communications medium.

TABLE 44. MEANS BY WHICH EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS FOUND PRESENT JOB

Means	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Agency or Institution)	(56)	(15.6)
ABCD	12	3.3
Division of Employment Security	14	3.9
Model Cities	--	--
Church/Church Organization	7	1.9
Labor union	--	--
School	2	0.6
Private employment agency	11	3.1
Other agency or institution	10	2.8
(Newspaper, Radio, T.V.)	(21)	(5.8)
(Informal Means)	(240)	(66.8)
Personal contacts	223	62.1
Street	5	1.4
Own effort	12	3.3
(No Answer)	(42)	(11.7)
TOTAL*	359	99.9

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

The manufacturing and service sectors of the local economy provide the majority of jobs to employed respondents. In all, 30.1% of employed respondents work in manufacturing firms and 28.7% in service enterprises (primarily hospitals, repair shops, and firms providing services to businesses). Private households provide an additional 10.3% of the jobs held by respondents; and retail trade (mainly eating and drinking places) 9.2% of these jobs. The construction, wholesale trade, and government sectors of the economy each employ less than 5.0% of respondents and no respondents are employed in finance, insurance and real estate.

TABLE 45. INDUSTRY OF THE EMPLOYED

Industry	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Agriculture	5	1.4
Construction	16	4.5
Manufacturing	108	30.1
Transportation, communications, and utilities	30	8.4
Wholesale trade	5	1.4
Retail trade	33	9.2
Services	103	28.7
Private households	37	10.3
Government	4	1.1
No answer	18	5.0
TOTAL*	359	100.1

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

The kinds of jobs performed by nearly two-thirds (61.8%) of employed respondents are blue-collar in nature and of these almost all are in semi-skilled or unskilled categories. The two individual job types in which the largest shares of respondents are found are both of a semi-skilled blue-collar nature, with 25.6% of employed respondents holding jobs as service workers and 20.6% as machine operatives. Within the white-collar grouping of occupations (in which 31.1% of employed respondents hold jobs) managers and proprietors predominate. Only 5.8% of those who are employed are sales workers and none of the respondents are working in clerical jobs.

TABLE 46. OCCUPATION OF THE EMPLOYED

Occupation	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(White Collar)	(112)	(31.1)
Professional & Managerial:		
Professional, technical & kindred	32	8.9
Managers & proprietors	59	16.8
Other White Collar:		
Clerical	--	--
Sales	21	5.8
(Blue Collar)	(222)	(61.8)
Skilled:		
Craftsmen & foremen	4	1.1
Semi-Skilled:		
Operatives	74	20.6
Services	92	25.6
Private household	14	3.9
Unskilled:		
Laborers	38	10.6
(Agricultural)	(7)	(2.0)
Farmers & farm managers	2	0.6
Farm laborers & foremen	5	1.4
(No Answer)	(18)	(5.0)
TOTAL*	359	99.9

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

For the most part, the jobs held by employed respondents are regarded as being of low "prestige" by the general public of the United States, using as a measure the 88-point job prestige scale developed by U. S. Bureau of the Census. The occupations of nearly nine out of ten (86.9%) employed respondents fall into the lower half of the prestige scale. The occupations of 32.0% of employed respondents are in the bottom quarter of the scale, while those of only 1.7% are in the top quarter.

TABLE 47. JOB PRESTIGE RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS

Position of Occupation on Scale	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Top Quarter	6	1.7
Second Quarter	17	4.7
Third Quarter	197	54.9
Bottom Quarter	115	32.0
No answer or unclassifiable	24	6.7
TOTAL*	359	100.0

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

Most respondents (53.5%) who are employed drive to work, the majority of these (45.2% of the total) in their own automobiles. Slightly less than one-third (31.8%) of employed respondents use public transportation for their journey to work, while 7.8% walk to their jobs.

TABLE 48. MEANS OF TRANSPORT TO WORK

Means of Transport	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Private automobile	192	53.5
Public transportation	114	31.8
Taxi	1	0.3
On foot	28	7.8
Other	13	3.6
Work at home	1	0.3
No answer	10	2.8
TOTAL*	359	100.1

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

The journey to work takes under thirty minutes on the average for nearly one-half (48.8%) of those respondents who are employed. Another 26.7% of those who are employed spend from thirty to forty minutes on the average of getting to work, while 21.5% spend forty minutes or more.

TABLE 49. LENGTH OF TIME TO GET TO WORK

Number of Minutes	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Under 10	28	7.8
10-19	86	24.0
20-29	61	17.0
30-39	96	26.7
40-49	44	12.3
50+	33	9.2
No answer	11	3.1
TOTAL*	359	100.1

*Table includes only those respondents who are employed.

Employment History

While slightly less than one-half of respondents to the survey are currently employed, 81.5% of all respondents have at some time worked for pay. Among those who do not now have jobs, more than two-thirds have worked during some period in the past. Out of the total number of respondents, 13.6% have never held a paying job.

TABLE 50. WHETHER RESPONDENTS HAVE EVER BEEN EMPLOYED

Work History	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Presently employed	359	48.7
Not presently employed, but have been employed	242	32.8
Have never been employed	100	13.6
No answer	36	4.9
TOTAL	737	100.0

The kinds of industries and types of jobs in which the Spanish-speaking worked in their native countries vary in some significant aspects from the kinds of industries and types of jobs in which the Spanish-speaking who are employed in Boston now work. These variations appear to reflect differences between the composition of the economies in the Latin countries from which the Spanish-speaking originate and the economy of Boston as well as differences in the ability of the Spanish-speaking to market their particular skills in their native countries and in Boston.

In terms of industry of employment, the major differences between employment of respondents in their native countries and in Boston is the greater proportion of jobs which were performed in agriculture in the native countries and the smaller proportion in manufacturing. Among respondents who specified in what industry they were employed in their country of origin, 17.7% (still less than one-fifth, it should, however, be noted) worked in agriculture. Among respondents who are employed in the Boston area, only 1.4% work in agriculture. The manufacturing sector, on the other hand, was the source of jobs for 17.0% of respondents for whom industry of employment in native country was specified, while 30.0% of respondents who are working in Boston are employed in this sector.

Construction, services and government, as well as agriculture, provided more jobs in the native countries than do these sectors in Boston. Differences in service employment were due primarily to the greater share of jobs held in the categories of services to business in the native countries. Transportation, communications and utilities, wholesale trade, and private households, as well as manufacturing, provided a smaller proportion of jobs in the native countries than they do in Boston. Approximately the same share of jobs in the native countries as in Boston were in retail trade; and, for the native countries as for Boston, no respondents specified finance, insurance and real estate as a sector of employment.

TABLE 51. INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYMENT IN NATIVE COUNTRY

Industry	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Agriculture	80	17.7
Construction	50	11.0
Manufacturing	77	17.0
Transportation, communications & utilities	16	3.5
Wholesale trade	--	--
Retail trade	40	8.8
Finance, insurance & real estate	--	--
Services	152	33.6
Private households	22	4.9
Government	16	3.5
TOTAL ANSWERS*	453	100.0

*A sizeable share of respondents (277, or more than one out of three) failed to answer this question. Many of these respondents may never have held a job in their native country. In order to provide a breakdown on this variable which could be meaningfully compared to the breakdown for industry of the presently employed (where "no answers" were a small share of the total), the per cent distribution shown here is calculated on the basis of the number of respondents who answered the question and not the total number of persons interviewed. Those individuals (numbering seven) who were born in the United States were not asked the question.

Comparison of the types of jobs in which respondents were employed in their native countries and in which they are now employed shows a shift out of agricultural occupations into semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar occupations and a restructuring of employment among white-collar job types. While only 2% of respondents who are employed in the Boston area work as farmers, farm managers, farm laborers and farm foremen, jobs of these types were performed by 17.3% of respondents whose occupation in native country was specified. On the other hand, blue-collar jobs accounted for 52.2% of all jobs of respondents in their native countries, while jobs of this nature account for 61.8% of all jobs performed by respondents employed in Boston. Approximately the same share of respondents who specified an occupation in their native country held white-collar jobs as of respondents who are currently employed. However, within the white-collar grouping of occupations, a larger proportion of respondents worked in professional and technical jobs in their native countries and a smaller proportion as managers and proprietors. As currently, few respondents held clerical jobs in their native countries. Sales jobs were of greater relative importance in the native countries than they are in Boston.

TABLE 52. OCCUPATION IN NATIVE COUNTRY

Occupation	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(White-Collar)	(138)	(30.5)
Professional & Managerial:		
Professional, technical & kindred	59	13.0
Managers & proprietors	37	8.2
Other White-Collar:		
Clerical	3	0.7
Sales	39	8.6
(Blue-Collar)	(237)	(52.2)
Skilled:		
Craftsmen & foremen	4	0.9
Semi-Skilled:		
Operatives	103	22.7
Services	84	18.5
Private household	6	1.3
Unskilled:		
Laborers	40	8.8
(Agricultural)	(78)	(17.3)
Farmers & farm managers	41	9.1
Farm laborers & foremen	37	8.2
TOTAL ANSWERS*	453	100.0

*See note for preceding table.

For the most part, the kinds of jobs held by respondents in their native countries, as the kinds of jobs currently held by respondents, rank in the lower part of the 88-point job prestige scale developed by the Census Bureau. It should be recalled that the scale shows how the general public of the United States regards various occupations. While citizens of the countries from which the respondents originate may rank occupations in a different order, ranking according to the Census scale is of interest for two reasons. First, such a comparison indicates how employers and others in Boston are likely to assess the previous job experience of the Spanish-speaking in the City, in relation to that of other individuals. Second, the comparison shows how social status (measured by U. S. standards) in the single aspect of job prestige has been affected by migration to this country.

A somewhat larger proportion of jobs held in the native countries than of jobs now held rank in the top two-quarters of the prestige scale (11.0% in the native countries as compared to 6.4% in Boston), due to the relatively greater numbers found in high ranking professional and technical positions in the countries of origin. Balancing this greater proportion in high ranking occupations, however, is a greater proportion in the lowest ranking jobs, due to the large share found in low-prestige farm-hand positions in the countries of origin. Among respondents who were employed in their native countries, 44.6% worked in occupations ranked in the bottom quarter of the scale, while only 32.0% of currently employed respondents work in positions ranked in this quarter. Correspondingly, a smaller proportion of native country jobs (44.4%) than of current jobs (54.9%) rank in the third quarter of the scale, which includes the now important category of factory operatives.

TABLE 53. JOB PRESTIGE IN NATIVE COUNTRY

Position of Occupation on Scale	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents*
Top Quarter	12	2.7
Second Quarter	37	8.3
Third Quarter	197	44.4
Bottom Quarter	198	44.6
TOTAL ANSWERS	444	100.0

*In this table the per cent breakdown is calculated on the basis of the number of respondents who answered the question on occupation in native country and for whom the occupation given could be classified according to the job prestige scale.

One out of two respondents who have at some time worked for pay but who are not presently employed have been without a job for at least the past two years. Most respondents who have worked in this two-year period have been employed in a single job for the two years, rather than in a sequence of jobs. Only 9.6% of respondents who have worked during the past two years have held three or more jobs during this period.

TABLE 54. NUMBER OF JOBS HELD IN LAST TWO YEARS

Number of Jobs	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	124	20.6
1	261	43.4
2	150	25.0
3	29	4.8
4	14	2.3
5 or more	15	2.5
No answer	8	1.3
TOTAL*	601	99.9

*Table includes only those respondents (numbering 359) who are presently employed and those respondents (numbering 242) who are not presently employed but who have worked for pay at some time in the past.

Respondents to the survey have changed jobs in the past for a variety of reasons, and in only a minority of the cases do these changes appear to have been related to job advancement. Of all those respondents who have at some time worked for pay, 14.5% state that the reason they last left a job was because it paid too little, while an additional 7.3% said they made their most recent job change because they thought they could get a better job. Health-related reasons (sickness or accident) were cited by 14.6% of respondents as the explanation for their last having left a job and domestic responsibilities by 9.5% of respondents. Only 6.2% of respondents mentioned factors in the work situation itself as the reason they last left a job. In all, 12.0% of respondents said the reason they last left a job was that they moved, either to a different city or out of the country.

TABLE 55. REASON LEFT LAST JOB

Reason	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
(Job Advancement)	(131)	(21.8)
Paid too little	87	14.5
Thought could get better job	44	7.3
(Work Situation)	(37)	(6.2)
Work too hard	11	1.8
Didn't get along with other workers	3	0.5
Didn't get along with boss	7	1.2
Didn't like task	16	2.7
(Health)	(88)	(14.6)
Sickness or poor health	64	10.6
Accident	24	4.0
(Domestic)	(57)	(9.5)
Pregnancy	26	4.3
Had to take care of children	28	4.7
Got married	3	0.5
(Other)	(210)	(34.9)
Fired	6	1.0
Laid off	30	5.0
Moved	72	12.0
Politics	6	1.0
Transportation problem	5	0.8
Became student	8	1.3
All other	83	13.8
(No Answer)	(78)	(13.0)
TOTAL*	601	100.0

*Table includes only those respondents who are presently employed and those respondents who are not presently employed but who have worked for pay at some time in the past.

Of interest in determining eligibility for various programs for migrant workers, the job history of most households included in the survey does not include employment in agriculture by any household member at any time during the past five years. In 78.0% of the households, no member has worked on a farm in the past five years. In 21.3% of the households, one or more members have been so employed at some point during the period.

TABLE 56. EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE IN PAST FIVE YEARS

History of Agricultural Employment	Number of Households	% of Households
At least 1 household member worked on farm	157	21.3
No household member worked on farm	575	78.0
No answer	5	0.7
TOTAL	737	100.0

In nearly three-quarters (73.2%) of the cases in which agricultural employment by a household member over the past five years was reported, the work was said to have been done in the native country. In 6.4% of the households in which a member was employed in agriculture, the work was done in Massachusetts, and in 12.7% of the households, it took place in some other part of the U. S.

TABLE 57. LOCATION OF AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

Location	Number of Households	% of Households
Native country	115	73.2
Other country (not including U.S.)	4	2.5
Massachusetts	10	6.4
Other U. S.	20	12.7
No answer	8	5.1
TOTAL*	157	99.9

*Table includes only those households in which one or more members were employed in agriculture at some time during the past five years.

VII. STANDARD OF LIVING

While most respondents to the survey think the over-all economic situation of their households is better in Boston than it was in their native countries, a large share of the households are not self-supporting and many appear to have difficulty obtaining the bare necessities of life.

Unfortunately, data on the exact amounts of family or household income are exceedingly difficult to obtain in a survey such as this one. Frequently, the individual who is being interviewed does not know the amounts of income from various sources which make up the total income of the family or household unit. Even if he does have this information, he is likely to be most reluctant to reveal it to an interviewer. In light of these problems, it was decided in the present survey that data would be sought in areas which would point to income levels but that questions on actual income would not be asked.

The section below is organized in two parts. In the first part, income sources are specified. In the second part, indicators of income levels are presented.

Sources of Income

It will be recalled from the section on employment that only 48.7% of respondents are employed and that among those respondents who are employed the average hourly wage is $2.94, which would amount to $117.60 for a forty-hour week. Quite obviously, many Spanish speaking families in Boston must obtain income from sources other than or supplemental to wages and salaries from employment in order to live. The most important single non-employment source of income for the households interviewed was found to be welfare payments, with 42.2% of the households receiving public assistance. No other non-employment source of income came close in importance to welfare among the sampled households, with the next most frequent source of income being money from relatives, which 2.6% of the households reported they received.

TABLE 58. NON-EMPLOYMENT SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1969

	Households Receiving		Households Not Receiving		No Answer	
Source	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
(Public)						
Welfare	311	42.2	421	57.1	5	0.7
Social Security	17	2.3	713	96.7	7	0.9
Unemployment compensation	11	1.5	716	97.2	10	1.4
Other	8	1.1	708	96.1	21	2.8
(Private)						
Money from relatives	19	2.6	711	96.5	7	0.9
Money from friends	8	1.1	722	98.0	7	0.9
Alimony or child support	--	--	730	99.1	7	0.9
Accident or health insurance	12	1.6	718	97.4	7	0.9
Pension	3	0.4	722	98.0	12	1.6
Rent	2	0.3	728	98.8	7	0.9

Income Indicators

Whatever the source of their household's income (and without being asked what this income amounted to), respondents were asked to rate the over-all economic situation of the household. On a six-category scale, 43.3% of respondents stated they had barely enough to survive or enough only for rent and food. At the other end of the scale, 22.0% of respondents characterized their economic situation as good or very good.

TABLE 59. RESPONDENT'S RATING OF OVER-ALL ECONOMIC SITUATION OF FAMILY

Rating	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Barely enough to survive	156	21.2
Enough only for rent and food	163	22.1
Enough to live	114	15.5
Fairly good	138	18.7
Good	126	17.1
Very good	36	4.9
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	100.0

As a further indication of their standard of living, respondents were asked whether everyone in the household had enough to eat. 68.8% of respondents stated there was always enough food, while 31.2% said adequate nourishment was a problem at least on some occasions. This latter proportion corresponds rather well with the proportion (43.3%) of respondents who stated their household had barely the means to survive or only enough for rent and food.

TABLE 60. WHETHER EVERYONE IN HOUSEHOLD HAS ENOUGH TO EAT

Rating	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Never enough food	4	0.5
Almost never enough food	13	1.8
Sometimes enough food	73	9.9
Almost always enough food	137	18.6
Always enough food	507	68.8
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

Most households included in the survey (87.0%) were found to own a television set, but a minority (35.7%) reported ownership of a car. Approximately half (52.4%) said they had a telephone.

TABLE 61. POSSESSION OF CONSUMER GOODS

Item	Own		Do Not Own		No Answer	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Automobile*	263	35.7	471	63.9	3	0.4
Other motor vehicle	1	0.1	732	99.3	4	0.5
Television	641	87.0	92	12.5	4	0.5
Telephone	386	52.4	341	46.3	10	1.4

*11 of these respondents (1.5% of all respondents) own more than one car.

In spite of the several indications that the standard of living of a significant portion of Spanish-speaking households in Boston is relatively low, the majority of respondents (62.1%) stated that their current economic situation is better than their situation in their native country was. 18.2% said their situation now was the same as it had previously been. 18.8% said their present situation was worse.

TABLE 62. RESPONDENT'S COMPARISON OF FAMILY'S PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION AND SITUATION IN NATIVE COUNTRY

Comparison	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Present situation much better	213	29.2
Present situation somewhat better	240	32.9
Present situation same	133	18.2
Present situation worse	89	12.2
Present situation much worse	48	6.6
No answer	7	1.0
TOTAL*	730	100.1

*Table does not include respondents who were born in the Continental United States.

VIII. HEALTH

While the majority of respondents to the survey feel that their health is good to excellent, a majority have also received some form of medical attention in the past year and a significant share say that health problems affect their ability to work.

In the current survey, respondents were asked a series of questions on the over-all state of their health, on their utilization of health services and on their coverage by health insurance, each of which subjects is treated in the section which follows. In addition, respondents were asked a set of questions relating to psychosomatic disorders. Responses to these questions will be analyzed at a later date.

Health:

Approximately two-thirds (65.7%) of the persons surveyed categorized their current health (over the last twelve months) as good to excellent. Another fifth (19.4%) said their health is average, while 13.9% said it is poor or very poor.

TABLE 63. RESPONDENT'S RATING OF OWN HEALTH DURING LAST TWELVE MONTHS

Rating	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Excellent	173	23.5
Very good	136	18.5
Good	175	23.7
Average	143	19.4
Poor	85	11.5
Very poor	18	2.4
No answer	7	0.9
TOTAL	737	99.7

While approximately one out of seven respondents said his health is below average, more than one out of five said he has some health problem which limits the type or quantity of work he can do or which prevents him from working. In the latter category, 11.9% said health problems make it impossible for them to work. The number of respondents (88) who said, in the context of questions on their health, that they have health problems which prevent them entirely from working corresponds well with the number (108) who gave, in the context of questions on employment, sickness or an accident as the reason they had not looked for work in the four weeks preceding the survey.

TABLE 64. WHETHER HAVE HEALTH PROBLEM AFFECTING WORK

Whether Have Problem	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Don't have problem	560	76.0
Have problem which limits work	86	11.7
Have problem which prevents work	88	11.9
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

Most respondents (82.6%) said that their health was good in their infancy (up to six years of age). 13.5% said their health was average during this period, while 3.4% said it was poor.

TABLE 65. RESPONDENT'S RATING OF HIS OWN HEALTH DURING HIS INFANCY

Rating of Health	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Good	609	82.6
Fair	99	13.5
Poor	25	3.4
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	100.0

Approximately the same share of respondents as said their own health is currently poor or very poor (13.9%) said that one or both of their parents had been in bad health during their (the respondent's) childhood. 13.2% of respondents said one or both of their parents were in bad health when the respondents were from six to eighteen years old. Another 7.5% of respondents said one or both parents were occasionally in bad health while 77.7% said both their parents had been in good health.

TABLE 66. RESPONDENT'S RATING OF PARENTS' HEALTH DURING RESPONDENT'S CHILDHOOD

Health of Parents	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Both in bad health	52	7.1
One in bad health; one in good health	45	6.1
One or both occasionally in bad health	55	7.5
Both in good health	573	77.7
No answer	12	1.6
TOTAL	737	100.0

Use of Health Services

Close to two-thirds (60.7%) of respondents said they have received some form of medical attention, including examination or diagnosis as well as treatment, at least once during the last year. 43.3% of respondents stated they have received medical attention two or more times during this period.

TABLE 67. HOW MANY TIMES RECEIVED MEDICAL ATTENTION IN LAST TWELVE MONTHS

Number of Times	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	276	37.5
1	128	17.4
2	63	8.5
3	61	8.3
4	22	3.0
5-9	64	8.7
10+	109	14.8
No answer	14	1.9
TOTAL	737	100.1

Slightly more than one-half of respondents (54.8%) stated that the last time that they received medical attention in Boston it was in a hospital or clinic, while 15.6% said they had seen a private doctor or nurse. 29.6% of respondents either said that they had not yet needed medical attention in Boston or did not answer the question.

TABLE 68. WHERE RECEIVED MEDICAL ATTENTION LAST TIME IN BOSTON

Place	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Hospital or clinic	404	54.8
Doctor or nurse	115	15.6
Haven't needed medical attention in Boston	115	15.6
No answer	103	14.0
TOTAL	737	100.0

Among respondents who received their last medical attention in Boston in a hospital or clinic, by far the most commonly used facility was Boston City Hospital. The municipal hospital was the source of treatment for 52.2% of respondents who went to a hospital or clinic. No other individual hospital or clinic had been utilized by as many as one out of ten respondents, with Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, utilized by 7.4% of respondents who went to a hospital or clinic, coming next after Boston City Hospital in frequency of use.

TABLE 69. HOSPITAL USED LAST TIME

Hospital	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Boston City	211	52.2
Peter Bent Brigham	30	7.4
Boston Lying-In	7	1.7
Massachusetts General	22	5.4
St. Elizabeth's	21	5.2
Beth Israel	11	2.7
Harvard Clinics	15	3.7
University	8	2.0
Other	38	9.4
No answer	41	10.1
TOTAL*	404	99.8

*Total includes only those respondents who last received medical attention in a Boston hospital or clinic.

The reason given most often by respondents for their choice of the particular hospital or clinic in which they last received medical attention was the accessibility of the facility to their residence. More than one-third of respondents (36.9%) cited location factors as the reason they utilized the facility they did. Another fifth (19.5%) said that they had been referred to the hospital or clinic that they used, 10.7% that they liked the service or considered it of high quality, and 10.4% that their choice was based on the low cost of medical service at the facility.

TABLE 70. WHY CHOSE HOSPITAL OR CLINIC

Reason	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Located closest to home	149	36.9
Low cost	42	10.4
Referred	79	19.5
Like service	39	9.7
Previously went there	20	5.0
Work there	19	4.7
High quality service	4	1.0
Other	13	3.2
No answer	39	9.7
TOTAL*	404	100.1

*Total does not include 333 respondents who did not specify that they received their last medical attention in a hospital or clinic in Boston.

In half of the cases (49.0%) in which a hospital or clinic was the source of most recent medical attention, respondents said that one or more of the staff who served them spoke Spanish.

TABLE 71. WHETHER HOSPITAL OR CLINIC STAFF SPOKE SPANISH

Whether Spoke Spanish	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	198	49.0
No	197	48.8
No answer	9	2.2
TOTAL*	404	100.0

*Total includes only those respondents who last received medical attention in a hospital or clinic in Boston.

In the case of respondents who most recently received medical attention from a doctor or nurse, a somewhat greater share (54.9%) reported that the medical personnel concerned spoke their native language.

TABLE 72. WHETHER DOCTOR OR NURSE SPOKE SPANISH

Whether Spoke Spanish	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	63	54.8
No	50	43.5
No answer	2	1.7
TOTAL*	115	100.0

*Total includes only those respondents who last received medical attention in Boston from a private doctor or nurse.

A relatively small share of respondents (5.7%) stated that at some time during the past year they had needed medical attention but had been unable to obtain it. Of those who said they had failed to receive medical attention, approximately one-quarter said they had needed such attention on four or more occasions during the year.

TABLE 73. HOW MANY TIMES DURING LAST TWELVE MONTHS NEEDED MEDICAL ATTENTION AND DID NOT RECEIVE IT

Number of Times	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	681	92.4
1	14	1.9
2	8	1.1
3	8	1.1
4 or more	12	1.6
No answer	14	1.9
TOTAL	737	100.0

Nearly one-third (31.0%) of those persons who said they had needed medical attention but had not received it explained that attention had not been sought because they got well at home. One-fifth (21.4%) of respondents who had not received attention said the reason was they lacked the money to pay for the doctors or medicine, while 9.5% said they had seen a doctor or nurse but that he or she refused to believe the respondent was ill. No respondents gave as the reason for their failing to receive medical attention their not knowing where to go, being afraid to go, or lacking a baby-sitter.

TABLE 74. REASON MEDICAL ATTENTION NOT RECEIVED

Reason	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Lacked money to pay for treatment	9	21.4
Lacked transportation, or money for taxi	1	2.4
Got well at home	13	31.0
Doctor or other medical staff believed not ill	4	9.5
Other	13	31.0
No answer	2	4.8
TOTAL*	42	100.1

*Total includes only those respondents who stated they had not received needed medical attention in Boston on one or more occasions.

With regard to dental care, respondents showed a lesser utilization of services than they did for medical care. While 37.5% of respondents said they had not received any medical attention in the past year, 56.3% said they had not visited a dentist in the past two years.

TABLE 75. HOW MANY TIMES VISITED DENTIST IN LAST TWO YEARS

Number of Times	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	415	56.3
1	87	11.8
2	74	10.1
3	31	4.2
4	42	5.7
5-9	72	9.8
10 or more	10	1.4
No answer	6	0.8
TOTAL	737	100.1

Health Insurance

Respondents were asked in the present survey whether their households are covered by each of a series of health insurance or medical assistance plans. In many cases, the answers given to the questions on health insurance indicate that respondents are not fully knowledgeable about their coverage by or eligibility for these plans.

Only 10.3% of respondents said that their households are covered by Medicaid, the State-administered medical assistance program for low-income families. It will be recalled from the section of this report on Standard of Living that 42.2% of the households included in the survey are on welfare. Members of these households are automatically eligible for payment of medical and dental expenses under Medicaid. An additional share of households, unspecified in the survey, may be assumed to be eligible for Medicaid even though they are not on welfare because of their low income. Over-all, it would appear that a substantial portion of Spanish-speaking households in the City receive or could receive health insurance coverage through the Medicaid program, which they may or may not have utilized.

While a considerably smaller share of respondents said their households are covered by Medicaid than appears to be actually the case, more respondents than expected said members of their households are covered by Medicare, the Federal program of health insurance for the elderly. A total of 111 respondents, representing 15.1% of the sampled households, said one or more members of their household are covered by Medicare. However, only 67 individuals in the surveyed households are 65 years or older and, thus, meet the age requirement for Medicare.

TABLE 76. PARTICIPATION IN HEALTH PLANS

Plan	Participate Number	Participate %	Do Not Participate Number	Do Not Participate %	No Answer Number	No Answer %
Blue Cross/Blue Shield (or other employer-paid plan)	219	29.7	441	59.8	77	10.4
Medicaid	76	10.3	558	75.7	103	14.0
Medicare	111	15.1	522	70.8	104	14.1
Other	101	13.7	529	71.8	107	14.5

IX. HOUSING

Most Spanish-speaking households in Boston are dependent on the rental market for housing and their limited incomes appear, in many cases, to require them to occupy housing units which are less than adequate in terms of size and condition. Since the Spanish-speaking population is a growing one and since few households are in a financial position to purchase newly constructed housing on the urban fringe, an increasing number of Spanish-speaking families will in all likelihood seek to be accommodated within the existing limited supply of inexpensive rental housing in the City.

The section following is organized in two major parts. In the first part, the discussion centers on tenure, rent and basic characteristics of the housing occupied by the Spanish-speaking. Also noted are means used to find housing and ethnicity of previous occupants. The second part is concerned primarily with the condition of housing, but covers also respondents' interest in moving to public housing.

Tenure, Rent and Housing Characteristics

The great majority (94.0%) of households included in the survey rent the dwelling unit in which they live. Only one out of twenty households are owner-occupants of their dwelling units. Among the renters, approximately 15%, or 12.3% of all households, are living in public housing.

TABLE 77. TYPE OF TENURE

Type of Tenure	Number of Households	% of Households
Own	37	5.0
Rent	693	94.0
(Public housing)	(91)	(12.4)
(Private housing)	(602)	(81.6)
Occupy without paying	1	0.1
No answer	6	0.8
TOTAL	737	99.9

As would be expected from the prevalence of rental tenure, few households live in single-family structures. Almost 9 out of 10 households live in multi-family buildings, with the greatest number concentrated in structures containing 2 to 4 and 5 to 10 units.

TABLE 78. TYPE OF STRUCTURE

Type of Structure	Number of Households	% of Households
Single-family, detached	24	3.3
Single-family, attached	53	7.2
Apartment in partly commercial structure	4	0.5
2-4 unit structure	325	44.0
5-10 unit structure	227	30.8
11-20 unit structure	37	5.0
21+-unit structure	49	6.6
Other	7	1.0
No answer	11	1.5
TOTAL	737	99.9

More than half of the Spanish-speaking households found their present living quarters through friends or relatives. A quarter of the households utilized the services of a public or private agency to find their dwelling unit. Less than 3% found the unit through a newspaper advertisement.

TABLE 79. HOW FOUND DWELLING UNIT

Means Used	Number of Households	% of Households
(Formal Organization)	(182)	(24.7)
Real estate agent	197	13.2
Welfare Department	36	4.9
City agency	34	4.6
Church agency	15	2.0
(Personal Contact)	(393)	(53.3)
Friend	280	38.0
Relative	113	15.3
(Newspaper Ad)	(19)	(2.6)
(Other)	(135)	(18.3)
(No Answer)	(8)	(1.1)
TOTAL	737	100.0

In somewhat less than a quarter of the cases (22.2%), a given household's present home is known by the respondent to have been previously occupied by another Spanish-speaking family. In another 29.3% of the cases, the previous occupants were white Continental Americans, and in 4.2% of the cases, they were black Continental Americans.

TABLE 8C. CHARACTERISTICS OF PREVIOUS OCCUPANTS OF DWELLING UNIT

Characteristics	Number of Previous Occupants	% of Previous Occupants
(Continental Americans)	(216)	(29.3)
White	185	25.1
Black	31	4.2
(Spanish Speaking)	(168)	(22.2)
Puerto Rican, not relatives or friends	67	9.1
Puerto Rican, relatives or friends	48	6.5
Cuban, not relatives or friends	23	3.1
Cuban, relatives or friends	12	1.6
Other Spanish-speaking	14	1.9
(Other)	(185)	(25.1)
(Unit Not Previously Occupied)	(80)	(10.9)
(No Answer)	(92)	(12.5)
TOTAL	737	100.0

The average gross rent (including utilities) paid monthly by the households is $123.00. Out of the total households, 28.5% pay less than $100.00 monthly, and 29.8% pay $150.00 or more for rent each month.

TABLE 81. GROSS RENT (INCLUDING UTILITIES) PER MONTH

Rent	Number of Households	% of Households
$0 - $ 39	1	0.1
$ 40 - $ 59	13	1.9
$ 60 - $ 79	87	12.5
$ 80 - $ 99	91	14.0
$100 - $119	106	15.3
$120 - $149	173	24.9
$150 - $199	180	25.9
$200 - $299	27	3.9
$300 +	--	--
No answer	10	1.4
TOTAL*	694	99.9

*Table includes only those households which rent the housing they occupy.

Approximately two-thirds (68.6%) of the households included in the survey live in dwelling units containing from 4 through 6 rooms (not including bathrooms or hallways). Only 8.1% of the households live in 1- or 2-room dwellings, while another 10.8% live in units containing 7 or more rooms.

TABLE 82. NUMBER OF ROOMS IN DWELLING UNIT

Rooms	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
1	17	2.3
2	43	5.8
3	89	12.1
4	158	21.4
5	217	29.4
6	131	17.8
7	58	7.9
8	8	1.1
9 or more	13	1.8
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

Comparison of the number of rooms in each of the dwelling units with the number of persons in the household which occupies that dwelling unit shows that one-third (33.3%) of the surveyed households are overcrowded in their living quarters. (Overcrowding is here defined, according to conventional practice, as 1.01 or more persons per room.)

TABLE 83. PERSONS PER ROOM

Number of Persons/Room	Number of Households	% of Households
0.50 or less	123	16.7
0.51 - 0.75	144	19.5
0.76 - 1.00	222	30.1
1.01 - 1.50	128	17.4
1.51 - 2.00	87	11.8
2.01 or more	30	4.1
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

In the great majority of cases (93.3%), the household's dwelling unit contains complete kitchen facilities for use by that household alone. Only 3.1% of the households state they neither have their own complete cooking facilities nor access to such facilities.

TABLE 84. KITCHEN FACILITIES

Availability of Facilities	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
Household has complete facilities for own use only	687	93.1
Household shares facilities with another household	6	0.8
Household lacks access to complete facilities	23	3.1
No answer	21	2.8
TOTAL	737	99.9

Housing Condition

While the quality of housing is difficult to measure, several means were used in the survey to attempt to pinpoint the condition of the housing occupied by Spanish-speaking households. Both respondents and interviewers were asked to rate the over-all state of repair of dwelling units. In addition, respondents were asked whether their unit had any broken windows, whether they had a problem with rats, and whether they had been without heat at any time during the past winter.

Respondents rated the over-all condition of their dwelling units on a three-category scale. On this scale, 53.5% said the unit's condition is "good" (the top rating), while 18.3% said it "needs many repairs" (the bottom rating).

TABLE 85. RESPONDENT'S RATING OF DWELLING UNIT CONDITIONS

Rating	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
Good	394	53.5
Needs some repairs	204	27.7
Needs many repairs	135	18.3
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	100.0

Provided with a four-category rating scale, interviewers judged 33.2% of the housing units they visited to be in "excellent" condition and 29.0% to be in "poor" (needing many repairs) or "very poor" condition. While a definitive comparison between respondents' and interviewers' opinion of the condition of the housing units cannot be drawn because of the difference between the two rating scales used, it would appear that interviewers tended to consider the housing occupied by respondents to be in worse condition than did the respondents themselves.*

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*In an unorthodox and mathematically rather questionable procedure, the two rating patterns were compared as follows:

> A numerical value was assigned to each of the ratings on each of the scales (on the respondent scale: 3 equals "good," 2 equals "needs some repairs," 1 equals "needs many repairs"; on the interviewer scale: 4 equals "excellent," 3 equals "rather good," 2 equals "poor," and 1 equals "very poor"). The two scales were then "normalized" by re-calculating the numerical values on the interviewer scale so that each amounted to three-quarters of its original value (3 now equals "excellent," 9/4 equals "rather good," 3/2 equals "poor," and 3/4 equals "very poor"). The average rating on each of the two scales was then calculated. For the respondent scale, this average amounted to 2.35. On the interviewer scale, the average came to 2.22, indicating that when the condition of same housing was evaluated by interviewers and respondents, interviewers tended to find it slightly less satisfactory than did respondents.

TABLE 86. INTERVIEWER'S RATING OF DWELLING UNIT CONDITION

Rating	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
Excellent (In good condition, does not need repairs)	245	33.2
Rather Good (Needs few repairs)	265	36.0
Poor (Needs many repairs)	165	22.4
Very Poor (Should be completely renovated or torn down)	49	6.6
No answer	13	1.8
TOTAL	737	100.0

In approximately 3 out of every 10 dwelling units, respondents state there is at least one broken window. In 17.6% of the units, there are two or more broken windows, according to the respondents.

TABLE 87. BROKEN WINDOWS

Number of Broken Windows	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
0	510	69.2
1	88	11.9
2 or more	130	17.6
No answer	9	1.2
TOTAL	737	100.0

In more than four out of every ten dwelling units (43.9%) respondents stated they have a problem with rats. In the majority of these cases, respondents said there are "many" rats.

TABLE 88. PRESENCE OF RATS

Presence of Rats	Number of Dwelling Units	% of Dwelling Units
None	401	54.4
Some	128	17.4
Many	195	26.5
No answer	13	1.8
TOTAL	737	100.0

Approximately one out of five respondents (19.2%) said they had been without heat for one day or more during the preceding winter. In 8.1% of the cases, respondents stated heat had been lacking for a week or more.

TABLE 89. HEATING

Heat During Past Winter	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Never without heat	520	70.5
Heat lacking 1 day or less	26	3.5
Heat lacking 2 to 6 days	56	7.6
Heat lacking 1 week or more	60	8.1
No answer	75	10.2
TOTAL	737	99.9

Asked how interested in maintenance and repair their landlord is, slightly more than one-third (37.8%) of respondents said that in their opinion he has little or no interest in keeping up the dwelling unit, while another 15.7% of respondents said he is sometimes cooperative and sometimes not. 44.1% of respondents said the landlord is always cooperative in matters regarding maintenance and repair.

TABLE 90. RESPONDENT'S OPINION OF OWNER'S INTEREST IN MAINTAINING AND REPAIRING DWELLING UNIT

Opinion of Owner	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Is cooperative	307	44.2
Is sometimes cooperative	109	15.7
Pays little attention	88	12.7
Has no interest	174	25.1
No answer	16	2.3
TOTAL*	694	100.0

*Total does not include 37 respondents from households which own the unit they occupy as well as 6 respondents from households for which tenure status was not specified.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they were interested in moving to public housing. Out of the total number, 23.8% expressed definite interest and another 5.3% some interest. A substantial majority, however, said they are not interested in making such a move, and only 13.2% (less than half the number who expressed interest) stated they have actually applied for admission to a project.

TABLE 91. INTEREST IN MOVING TO PUBLIC HOUSING

Interest	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	154	23.8
Maybe	34	5.3
No	455	70.4
No answer	3	0.5
TOTAL*	646	100.0

*Table does not include 91 respondents currently living in public housing.

X. SOCIAL INTERACTION

Social ties between individual members of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston, through family and friendship patterns, appear to be strong, but organizational activity in the community does not seem to be highly developed and the degree of identification on the part of individuals with the community as a whole appears to vary widely.

In this section, patterns of interaction among members of the Spanish-speaking community and between members of the community and the wider society are both explored. The section is organized in three parts. In the first part, relationships among individuals are discussed. Group activities are covered in the second section, and the third section deals with community awareness, mass communications and political participation.

Social Relationships Between Individuals

Most Spanish-speaking households which have migrated to Boston have not in so doing cut themselves off from the possibility of frequent contact with relatives outside of the household. Nearly two-thirds (61.6%) of the individuals interviewed stated that one or more of their relatives or relatives of their spouse live in the same neighborhood of Boston as they do. Nearly one-third (32.6%) of respondents have five or more relatives living in the same neighborhood. Respondents were not asked whether they had still other relatives living in different parts of Boston, but it may be assumed that some, if not many, do. It is interesting to note the frequent presence of relatives in light of the fact that, as noted in the section of this report on Migration, 38.0% of respondents state they moved to Boston primarily for the purpose of reuniting with relatives.

TABLE 92. HOW MANY RELATIVES OF RESPONDENT OR SPOUSE LIVE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Number of Relatives	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
None	272	36.9
1 - 4	214	29.0
5 - 9	122	16.6
10 +	118	16.0
No answer	11	1.5
TOTAL	737	100.0

Not only do most Spanish-speaking persons in Boston have relatives living close by with whom they may interact but most appear to have established a significant number of friendships in the City. Nearly half (46.7%) of respondents to the survey said they have ten or more friends (not counting relatives) in Boston. Only 15.5% said they have no friends in the City.

TABLE 93. HOW MANY FRIENDS HAVE IN BOSTON

Number of Friends	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
None	114	15.5
1 - 4	127	17.2
5 - 9	103	14.0
10 +	344	46.7
No answer	49	6.6
TOTAL	737	100.0

Visiting of respondents with their neighbors occurs with some frequency. One-quarter of respondents asserted they visit their neighbors at least once a week, while an additional 12.3% said they see their neighbors socially two or three times a month.

TABLE 94. HOW OFTEN VISIT NEIGHBORS

Frequency of Visits	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Daily	40	5.4
Several times per week	60	8.1
Once a week	88	11.9
Two or three times per month	91	12.3
Almost never	454	61.6
No answer	4	0.5
TOTAL	737	99.8

Given the language problems of respondents, 69.1% of whom said they speak little or no English, a relatively large share appear to have established social relationships with persons who do not speak Spanish. 10.0% of respondents stated they visit with non-Spanish-speaking persons "often", and an additional 36.9% said they have such contacts "sometimes".

TABLE 95. HOW OFTEN VISIT WITH PERSONS WHO DON'T SPEAK SPANISH

Frequency of Visits	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Often	74	10.0
Sometimes	272	36.9
Never	388	52.6
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	99.9

Group Activities

Most persons who were interviewed do not belong to any voluntary organizations and among those who do membership is usually maintained in only one such organization. Out of all respondents, 80.2% said they have no affiliations with any voluntary organization, 13.0% that they belong to one organization, and 3.4% that they belong to two or more such organizations.

TABLE 96. NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH BELONG

Number of Organizations	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
None	591	80.2
1	96	13.0
2	17	2.3
3 or more	8	1.1
No answer	25	3.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

The type of voluntary organization in which membership is most frequent among those interviewed is the labor union (in which membership may be required for certain jobs), with 9.4% of respondents being union members. Religious organizations, such as the Holy Name Society, claim as their members 5.6% of respondents. Hispanic organizations, to which 3.4% of those interviewed belong, account for the next largest share of organizational membership.

TABLE 97. TYPES OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION TO WHICH BELONG

Type of Organization	Belong		Don't Belong		No Answer	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Labor Union	69	9.4	664	90.1	4	0.5
Social Club	16	2.2	718	97.4	3	0.4
Religious Organization	41	5.6	693	94.0	3	0.4
Political Organization	3	0.4	731	99.2	3	0.4
PTA	11	1.5	723	98.1	3	0.4
Sports or Recreation Club	11	1.5	723	98.1	3	0.4
Hispanic Organization	25	3.4	708	96.1	4	0.5
Other	15	2.1	718	97.4	4	0.5

The degree to which respondents who are members of voluntary organizations are active in these organizations varies significantly by the type of organization considered. While more respondents are members of labor unions than of any other type of organization, those persons who belong to unions indicated in three-quarters of the cases (75.1%) that they are "not very active" in union affairs. Only 17.7% of union members said they are "very active." Political organizations, PTAs and Hispanic organizations inspire moderate levels of participation among their Spanish-speaking members, with from one-third to somewhat less than a half of respondents who belong to these kinds of organizations stating they are not very active and similar shares saying they are very active in the groups in question. Highest levels of participation in organizational activities are demonstrated by respondents who belong to religious organizations, sports and social clubs.

TABLE 98. LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

	Very Active		Somewhat Active		Not Very Active		No Answer	
Organization	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Labor Union	12	17.7	4	5.8	52	75.1	1	1.4
Social Club	3	18.3	10	63.4	1	6.1	2	12.2
Religious Organization	18	44.6	21	50.5	1	2.5	1	2.5
Political Organization	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	-	-
PTA	-	-	5	45.5	5	45.5	1	9.1
Sports or Recreation Club	8	73.2	3	26.8	-	-	-	-
Hispanic Organization	8	32.0	5	20.0	8	32.0	4	16.0

Church attendance among respondents falls into two major patterns. A substantial portion of respondents (40.7%) stated they do not attend church at all. Another significant share (30.7%) said they go to church once a week. Few respondents (5.7%) indicated they attend church on more than a weekly basis.

TABLE 99. HOW MANY TIMES GO TO CHURCH PER MONTH

Number of Times	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	300	40.7
1	77	10.4
2 - 3	65	8.8
4	226	30.7
5 +	42	5.7
No answer	27	3.7
TOTAL	737	100.0

The majority (56.0%) of respondents to the survey stated they sometimes or often go to gatherings or social activities of various kinds with other persons from their native country.

TABLE 100. FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES WITH OTHERS FROM NATIVE COUNTRY

Frequency of Participation	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Often	121	16.4
Sometimes	292	39.6
Never	321	43.6
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	100.0

Most organizations in Boston which are set up specifically to provide services to the Spanish-speaking community are known to a minority of persons interviewed. Out of seven Hispanic organizations specified, only one, the Cardinal Cushing Center, run by the Archdiocese of Boston, is known to a majority (63.1%) of respondents. The organization which receives second greatest recognition is the Cuban Refugee Center, of which 35.0% of respondents (most of whom it may be assumed are Cuban) have heard. The Association for the Promotion of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-Speaking (APCROSS), supported by funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, through ABCD, and from the United Fund through United Community Services, is known to 29.7% of respondents. Least known of the specified organizations is a radical group, La Breccha, of which 5.2% of respondents have heard.

TABLE 101. AWARENESS OF HISPANIC ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Have Heard of		Have Not Heard of		No Answer	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
APCROSS	219	29.7	511	69.3	7	0.9
Cardinal Cushing Center	465	63.1	269	36.5	3	0.4
ETC	158	21.4	575	78.0	4	0.5
La Breccha	38	5.2	695	94.3	4	0.5
Poro-Afro	133	18.0	601	81.5	3	0.4
Cuban Refugee Center	258	35.0	476	64.6	3	0.4
International Institute	129	17.5	605	82.1	3	0.4

Since ABCD provides funding to APCROSS, respondents were asked, with regard specifically to that agency, whether they had had any contact with it, the agency, and whether they had received any service from it. They were also asked whether they had received any service from some other Spanish-speaking organization. In the case of APCROSS, 7.3% of respondents said they had had some contact with the agency and 3.5% of respondents that APCROSS had provided them with some service. With regard to other Spanish-speaking organizations, 5.6% of respondents said they had received a service from some such organization.

TABLE 102. CONTACT WITH AND SERVICES FROM APCROSS AND OTHER SPANISH-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS

	Yes		No		No Answer	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Have had some contact with APCROSS	54	7.3	679	92.1	4	0.5
Have received some service from APCROSS	26	3.5	709	96.2	2	0.3
Have received some service from other Spanish-speaking organization	41	5.6	688	93.4	8	1.1

Ties to the Wider Community

Approximately three-quarters (76.0%) of the persons interviewed feel they have at least some things in common with other Spanish-speaking people in Boston, but the degree of feelings of community varies widely among respondents. Out of the total sample, 36.6% said they feel they have many or very many things in common with other Spanish-speaking in Boston and 39.4% that they have some things in common. 21.8% of respondents said they feel they have little or nothing in common with other Spanish-speaking in the City.

TABLE 103. RESPONDENT'S OPINIONS ON HOW MUCH HE HAS IN COMMON WITH OTHER SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

How Much In Common	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Nothing	79	10.7
Almost nothing	82	11.1
Some things	290	39.4
Many things	168	22.8
Very many things	102	13.8
No answer	16	2.2
TOTAL	737	100.0

In a similar pattern, respondents show varying degrees of interest in matters relating to the local community. 38.8% of those interviewed said they have much or very much interest in community matters, 38.0% said they have some interest and 22.6% say they have little or no interest.

TABLE 104. DEGREE OF INTEREST IN MATTERS RELATING TO LOCAL COMMUNITY

Degree of Interest	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Very much interest	73	9.9
Much interest	213	28.9
Some interest	280	38.0
Little interest	108	14.7
No interest	58	7.9
No answer	5	0.7
TOTAL	737	100.1

Significantly, respondents show much greater interest in events in their native countries than they do in local community matters. Nearly three-quarters (71.6%) of respondents asserted they are very much interested in what happens in their native country. Only 13.0% of respondents said they have no interest in events in the country from which they came.

TABLE 105. DEGREE OF INTEREST IN WHAT HAPPENS IN NATIVE COUNTRY

Degree of Interest	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Very interested	528	71.6
Somewhat interested	110	14.9
No interest	96	13.0
No answer	3	0.4
TOTAL	737	99.9

Ties of respondents through newspaper readership to the Spanish-speaking community in general appear to be of some significance. (It should be recalled that 20.9% of respondents said they have limited or no reading ability in Spanish.) Almost one-quarter of respondents (23.3%) stated they read the Spanish language newspaper El Tiempo, published in New York, at least sometimes, although only 6.2% said they read it daily. Close to one-half (44.6%) of respondents said they read some other Spanish language newspaper at least sometimes, and 13.2% said they read another Spanish language newspaper daily. El Diario, based in New York as is El Tiempo, accounted for the largest body of readers among respondents, being read at least sometimes by 32.6% of those interviewed. The single Spanish language paper published in Boston, El Noticiero, which is financed by ABCD and appears monthly, is read by 10.6% of respondents.

TABLE 106. READERSHIP OF SPANISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

	El Tiempo		El Noticiero		Other**	
How Often Read	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Never	544	73.8	626	84.9	392	53.2
Sometimes	80	10.9	51	6.9	117	15.9
Frequently	46	6.2	27	3.7	114	15.5
Daily	46	6.2	*	*	97	13.2
No answer	21	2.8	33	4.5	17	2.3
TOTAL	737	99.9	737	100.0	737	100.1

*El Noticiero appears monthly.

**Of the 328 respondents who stated they read an "Other" Spanish language newspaper at least sometimes, 240 specified that this newspaper is El Diario.

Not surprisingly in view of the limited English language skills of a substantial share of respondents (71.5% of whom said they had little or no ability to read the language), readership of English language newspapers is somewhat less common among respondents than is readership of Spanish language papers. Interestingly, however, differences in readership rates are not overwhelming. From readership of Spanish language papers a minority of respondents would seem to be kept abreast of events and issues in the Spanish-speaking community not tied to Boston, while from readership of English language papers a somewhat smaller minority keeps up with issues and events in the predominant American society, focused around Boston. Of English language papers, the most popular among respondents is the Boston Globe, which 28.4% of those interviewed said they read at least sometimes, and which 10.7% of respondents read daily. Second in popularity of English language papers is the Record American (also published in Boston), which 19.1% of respondents read at least sometimes and which 5.7% read daily.

TABLE 107. READERSHIP OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

How Often Read	Globe Number	Globe %	Herald Number	Herald %	Record American Number	Record American %	Other Number	Other %
Never	493	66.9	648	87.9	563	76.4	657	89.1
Sometimes	78	10.6	30	4.1	54	7.3	19	2.6
Often	52	7.1	10	1.4	45	6.1	22	3.0
Daily	79	10.7	10	1.4	42	5.7	1	0.1
No answer	35	4.7	39	5.3	33	4.5	38	5.2
TOTAL	737	100.0	737	100.1	737	100.0	737	100.0

By comparison to newspapers, television appears to be a powerful means of mass communication for the Spanish-speaking of Boston and one which has considerable potential for their education into American culture and the English language. It will be recalled that 87.0% of the households surveyed own a television set. On the average, respondents to the survey watch television three hours per day and 30.0% of respondents watch it four or more hours daily.

TABLE 108. HOW MANY HOURS PER DAY WATCH TELEVISION

Number of Hours	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
0	12	1.6
1	159	21.6
2	138	18.7
3	142	19.3
4 - 5	157	21.3
6 - 7	41	5.6
8 +	23	3.1
No answer	65	8.8
TOTAL	737	100.0

Somewhat fewer Spanish-speaking households than have a television have a radio in the house, 82.7% of those interviewed reporting ownership of a radio as compared to 87.0% reporting ownership of a television. Radio listening appears to have important actual or potential significance for communication within and for the Spanish-speaking community, as a number of programs are broadcast in Spanish. Among those persons who were interviewed, more than half (57.3%) stated they sometimes listen to Spanish language programs on the radio.

TABLE 109. WHETHER LISTEN TO SPANISH-LANGUAGE PROGRAMS ON RADIO

Whether Listen	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Yes	722	57.3
No	266	36.1
No answer	49	6.6
TOTAL	737	100.0

As to be expected, in light of the predominance of Puerto Ricans within the Spanish-speaking population of Boston, most respondents to the survey are citizens of the United States. Out of the total sample, 65.1% are American citizens, while 34.1% are not (citizenship status of 0.8% of the respondents is unknown). Significantly, among respondents who are not Puerto Rican and thus are not American citizens by birth, the overwhelming majority (86.0%) have not to date become citizens. Among those who are not American citizens, somewhat more than half (55.0%) state they intend to become citizens.

TABLE 110. U. S. CITIZENSHIP AMONG NON-PUERTO RICANS

	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Whether U. S. Citizen		
Yes	35	12.0
No	251	86.0
No answer	6	2.1
TOTAL*	292	100.1

*Total does not include the 445 respondents who are Puerto Rican.

	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Whether Intend to Become U. S. Citizen		
Yes	138	55.0
No	107	42.6
No answer	6	2.4
TOTAL	251	100.0

*Table includes only those respondents who are not citizens.

While nearly two-thirds of respondents are American citizens, only slightly more than one-third of respondents (35.4%) who are citizens have taken the step, registration to vote, necessary to enable them to exercise their right as a citizen to elect political representatives. 62.3% of respondents who are citizens are not registered to vote. Voting itself has occurred with little frequency among respondents who are citizens. Three-quarters (75.4%) of respondents who are citizens state they have not voted at all over the course of the last four years.

TABLE 111. VOTING AMONG U. S. CITIZENS

	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Whether Registered to Vote		
Yes	170	35.4
No	299	62.3
No answer	11	2.3
TOTAL*	480	100.0
How Many Times Voted In Last Four Years		
0	362	75.4
1	46	9.6
2	23	4.8
3	4	0.8
4	3	0.6
5 or more	8	1.7
No answer	34	7.1
TOTAL*	480	100.0

*Tables do not include 251 respondents who are not citizens as well as 6 respondents whose citizenship status is unknown.

The low level of political participation among respondents is probably related to their feelings of ineffectiveness in influencing governmental decision-making. Asked how much attention they think politicians give to the opinions of people like themselves, the majority (59.3%) of respondents answered little or no attention.

TABLE 112. RESPONDENT'S VIEW ON HOW MUCH ATTENTION POLITICIANS GIVE TO OPINIONS OF PEOPLE LIKE HIM

Degree of Attention	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Much attention	7	0.9
Good deal of attention	43	5.8
Some attention	161	21.8
Little attention	224	30.4
No attention	213	28.9
No answer	89	12.1
TOTAL	737	99.9

Somewhat less than two-thirds (62.9%) of respondents feel that there is discrimination to some degree on the part of other groups with regard to the Spanish-speaking in Boston. About half of these respondents (30.4% of the total sample) characterize the degree of this discrimination as moderate, saying that there is "little" or "some" discrimination in Boston. The other half (32.5% of all respondents) characterize the discrimination as severe, saying there is "much" or "very much" discrimination in Boston.

TABLE 113. RESPONDENT'S OPINION ON HOW MUCH DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SPANISH-SPEAKING EXISTS IN BOSTON

Amount of Discrimination	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
None	237	32.2
A little	64	8.7
Some	160	21.7
Much	141	19.1
Very much	99	13.4
No answer	36	4.9
TOTAL	737	100.0

All respondents were asked to describe a specific situation in which they had experienced discrimination in Boston. Although 62.9% of respondents had indicated they feel there is discrimination against the Spanish-speaking at least to some degree in Boston, only 24.6% cited a specific situation in which they had experienced discrimination. By far the largest share of these situations (40.3% of those cited) related to housing. Also mentioned with relative prominence were situations described as involving "language", and employment situations.

TABLE 114. SPECIFIC SITUATIONS IN WHICH DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN EXPERIENCED IN BOSTON

Situation	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Language*	30	4.1
Color*	9	1.2
Housing	73	9.9
Welfare	2	0.3
Health services	4	0.5
Employment	29	3.9
Transportation	1	0.1
Education	14	1.9
Legal authorities	12	1.6
Other	7	0.9
No answer	556	75.4
TOTAL	737	99.8

*Although the question asked of respondents was to specify a situation in which they had experienced discrimination, 39 respondents gave a reason for which they felt they were subject to discrimination.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND RESEARCH METHODS

APPENDIX I

SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND RESEARCH METHODS

Although the Spanish-speaking of Boston appear to be a significant minority group in terms of their numbers and the gravity of their problems, they comprise a relatively small proportion of the total population of the City. At the present time, estimates of the number of Spanish-speaking in Boston range from 12,000 to 40,000, and the group thus may be presumed to constitute from 2% to 6% of the total population of Boston. Because of the recency of arrival of most Spanish-speaking people to Boston (only somewhat more than a thousand were present in the 1960 census figures for Boston; 995 Puerto Ricans plus a small number of Spanish-speaking of other nationalities) and because of the general inattention to their existence as a special linguistic-cultural community with special needs and problems, no adequate lists or directories existed (or exist) to permit adequate random sampling. Thus, in the present survey, area sampling techniques were used.

Various informants and groups who deal with or comprise some part of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston were consulted in efforts to develop an adequate composite list from various sources, but in the end this could not be done. The available lists were haphazard, spotty and incomplete. Yet it would have been extremely expensive to assume that the Spanish-speaking were uniformly distributed all over Boston, since this would have entailed an area sampling operation all over Boston that would necessarily have a success rate no greater than 2% to 6%, on the average (the expected percentage for the total population). Put another way, we would only have found one Spanish-speaking person in our area sample for every 17 to 50 entry points or physical locations that we chose randomly in which to seek an interview. To avoid this great expense of money and wasted effort, therefore, we chose to utilize a map of Spanish-speaking areas prepared by the Mayor's Office of Public Services about a year prior to our survey.

This map was investigated with a number of informants and alternative sources in order to assess at least roughly its validity. After this preliminary investigation, it was concluded that, although the map was far from being completely accurate, it was the best guide we had to the location of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Before using it, however, we made some additions in order to update its coverage of certain sections of Boston into which informants indicated many new Spanish-speaking people had been moving. Thus, we added representation onto the map of the location of numerous Spanish-speaking people from Dorchester and nearby areas, as determined by ABCD's Dorchester A.P.A.C. (Area Planning Action Council) contact list. We resolved to use the revised map as the main guide to what areas should be sampled in order to find the Spanish-speaking in Boston. (Note, by the way, that we confined our study to the City of Boston proper, not attempting to cover Greater Boston.)

A second key to our sampling procedure was a complete computer printout of all of the block faces on all of the streets in all of the official 1970 census tracts in Boston. (A "Block Face" is one side of a street between two cross streets.) Prepared by Urban Data Processing, Inc., this printout served as the basis of our random area sampling procedure. First, we divided all census tracts into two categories termed "Span" and "None" for short. The Span tracts were determined on the basis of the revised map described above:

(1) We began with those census tracts that were clearly central to the Spanish-speaking areas of the map, in the sense that these census tracts appeared to contain 5 or more block faces with at least one Spanish-speaking resident on each. Since the map did not specify on which side of the street a Spanish-speaking person or family (families) was living, we assumed there was at least one such person on both sides of every marked street on the revised map. The requirement of 5 block faces thus meant that a census tract had to have marked streets (for Spanish-speaking residents) for at least three different locations in order to be termed a "central Span tract".

(2) Then, having started with these central tracts, adjacent tracts were termed "Span tracts" also if they had two or more block faces marked on the map as containing Spanish-speaking residents. This meant that only one street on the map had to be marked in order for the tract to be included if it was adjacent to another tract that had already been included as a central or adjacent Span tract. We used this procedure in order to allow for the recent movement of Spanish-speaking people out of "known" areas of high concentration into nearby areas. Since so much dependence was to be put on the map, we wished to minimize our chances of missing large new concentrations of Spanish-speaking people who lived near areas where previous concentrations were found. Finally, a census tract

was also termed "Span" if it was not adjacent to another Span tract but had 3 or more marked block faces on the revised map, indicating that there were Spanish-speaking residents located on at least two or more different marked blocks. A single person located on a given street could not, thus, result in a census tract being called "Span" if the tract was not adjacent to a known "Span" tract.

The result of this foregoing procedure was to define some 75 (out of 146) 1970 census tracts as "Span tracts" for the purposes of our survey area sampling. The remaining 71 tracts were termed "None tracts", indicating low concentrations of Spanish-speaking residents according to our revised map (no more than two block faces marked on our revised map). The second step in the area sampling procedure was to divide the streets in the "Span tracts" into two sub-categories--"Span" and "Near" streets. "Span streets" were defined as block faces in "Span tracts" that were marked as containing at least one Spanish-speaking resident according to the revised map, while the remaining block faces in Span tracts were termed "Near streets". As a result, the whole City of Boston was divided up into three areas, according to our general estimate of the probability of finding Spanish-speaking persons in each area. The highest probability areas were the Span block faces, which numbered 1951. Second in order of probability were the Near block faces, which were in Span tracts but lacked any indication on the revised map that Spanish-speaking residents lived there. But by natural spatial diffusion processes, these streets would be the ones to which we might expect people on known Spanish-speaking streets to move or to which their friends or relatives might move, if not to another Span street. These Near block faces numbered 8620 in all of Boston. Finally, all of the block faces in the "None tracts" were called "None streets". These were the lowest probability areas of finding Spanish-speaking people in terms of the data available to us, and numbered 13093 in all of Boston, falling into 71 census tracts. (The census tract consisting of the islands in the Boston harbor was ignored for practical reasons.)

Having made these preliminary sampling distinctions in terms of the probability of finding Spanish-speaking persons, we attempted to sample randomly the block faces within each of the three broad categories of block faces. However, we placed much greater emphasis in our sampling upon finding Spanish-speaking people in the Span streets since we had greatest probabilities of success in these areas. Our general strategy was to place about 80% of the sampling and interviewing effort into finding appropriate respondents in the Span streets, and only 20% of our effort into finding people in the other two broad areas.

Sampling Span Block Faces

Sampling in the Span streets was done basically as follows: All marked block faces from the revised map (hence, all streets in Span tracts thought to contain one or more Spanish-speaking residents) were copied onto tracing paper from the map itself. Each block was numbered between its cross streets. A table of random numbers was used to select a particular block for sampling. Census tracts are usually bounded by streets, so in certain cases a single block must be considered for two census tracts. Therefore, if the block chosen had only one block face in the given census tract (one census tract was done at a time), that block face was selected. If the block chosen had two block faces in the given census tract, a coin was flipped to select the odd or even side as the final block face selected. From the map, the information was compared with corresponding information from a Polk City Directory for Boston and also with a computer listing of block faces by census tract for the City of Boston (prepared by Urban Data Processing, Inc.). The result was to be able to describe a specific, still existing block face in a given census tract, indicating not only street name but the relevant cross streets and the range of address numbers on the side of the block (block face) in which we were interested. For the 75 Span census tracts, five main waves of entry points were selected, comprising Run 1. Each wave had from 75 to 170 entry points comprising it, selected randomly from across the Span tracts. On each wave the number of entry points (block faces) selected in a given tract was proportional to the total length of marked Span streets in that tract on the revised map. Once a block face had been selected for an entry point in the given tract, all subsequent selections by the random method described were compared for duplication with all those block faces previously selected. When duplications occurred, they were replaced randomly from the same census tract.

Finally, after all five waves had been completed, an additional wave of block face selections was made to bring the total number of entry points in each Span tract up to 4. That is, if less than four entry points had been selected in total from the first five waves of sampling (because of the small proportion of Span streets in the tract, for instance), additional entry points were randomly selected to bring the total up to 4--a minimum base level that gave each Span tract a chance to show up Spanish-speaking households on at least four different block faces thought to contain Spanish-speaking residents. As a result, some of the Span census tracts with only small numbers of Span block faces were given a somewhat greater chance of entering the entry point sample than would otherwise have been the case. This was done to assure *inclusiveness* of our final sample. We were sure that the revised map was incomplete and felt that the tracts with only small numbers of apparent Span block faces might be the most underrepresented areas of true Spanish-speaking residents if the map were taken as complete. Hence, we somewhat overrepresented these latter areas to compensate for the map's inadequacies.

All of these waves of random selection of block faces totaled 679 entry points, which was approximately 35% of the total of 1951 Span block faces in the 75 Span tracts. In short, we went to over one-third of the block faces that had previously been identified as being on streets having Spanish-speaking residents. Of course, the map from the Mayor's Office did not specify on which side of the street (or whether on both sides) Spanish-speaking people were living. Thus, it was possible that our sampling procedure might always select the "wrong" side of the street as an entry point, missing the Spanish-speaking residents across the street. However, such an event is extremely unlikely--as unlikely as getting 679 "heads" in a row when you flip a coin. What is most likely is that when there were Spanish-speaking residents on only one side of the street, we picked them up in our sample about half the time and missed them about half the time, so that it averages out. And the times when we sampled across the street from where the known residents were, we had an opportunity of picking up new Spanish-speaking residents who had just moved in (to be near their friends or relatives across the street) or other previously unknown Spanish-speaking residents.

The next step in our sampling was to perform what we called *"screening"* for the block faces identified as "entry points" by the random sampling procedures just described. Screening was an attempt to determine the number of Spanish-speaking families residing on the block face chosen as an entry point. Names and addresses of families turned up by the screening process were used subsequently in determining who was interviewed for the survey itself. The best kind of screening would have been a complete house-to-house census of all dwellings on the entry point block face. However, because of constraints of time and money this was not possible. Instead we undertook a fairly systematic form of what might be called "reputational screening"--trying to find Spanish-speaking people on a given block by speaking to people there who might know of them. This procedure has been used in other studies with some success, although it is always less satisfactory than the complete house-to-house search. Specifically, the Negro Migration Study (directed by Marc Fried, of the Institute of Human Sciences, Boston College) used this type of "reputational screening" to locate blacks living in suburban ("non-ghetto") areas. Since blacks in the suburbs are much more socially "visible" than are Spanish-speaking people, that earlier study asked people to indicate whether there were any blacks within a three block radius. In the present study, by contrast, we limited our interest to the immediate block face. Our assumption was that, even given the relative anonymity of urban life, people on a particular side of the block should have a fairly accurate notion of whether Spanish-speaking people were living on their block face. As part of our sampling procedures we actually checked this assumption, and found it to be generally true, although the accuracy and reliability of people's knowledge about their block face were not outstandingly high. Still, there was sufficient validity and reliability to the procedure to make it useful for our purposes, and certainly it was the most feasible way of finding out who the Spanish-speaking residents of the selected block faces were.

Our instructions to the screeners were as follows, in general: "The entry point card tells where to go. Plan your day efficiently as regards transportation and locations. For each entry point, select first a dwelling in the middle of the block face specified. If no one is home, go to either side and continue until someone is found at home. Explain that you work for ABCD and are trying to make a list of any Spanish-speaking people on that block, as a part of a larger study of the needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston. Ask if he/she has been living there for six months or more and feels that he/she knows the block. If not, go on until an acceptable rater is found. If so, ask the basic screening question: 'Are there any native Spanish-speaking households on this side of your block between the intersecting streets, __________, and __________?' If the answer is 'no', go to at least one other block face resident and ask the same question again, preferably at the other end of the block face rather than next door. If the answer is still 'no', put 'none' on the entry point card under 'Spanish-speaking households' and you are finished with this block face. If the answer is 'yes' from the first or second block face rater, ask the follow-up question: 'Could you tell me what their names are and where they live?' Try to get specific names and addresses of each Spanish-speaking household on the block face.

Enter the names and addresses given onto the Entry Point Card. Use additional cards or the back of the first card if necessary. Go to at least one of the Spanish-speaking households named and verify, correct, and expand the list you have for the block face. If possible, find out whether the various households are Puerto Rican, Cuban, or of other nationalities. If the original list was essentially correct, you are finished with this block face now. If the original list is changed substantially by the Spanish-speaking person you contact on the block face, go to another named Spanish-speaking household on the block face (preferably at the other end of the street) and further verify, correct, and expand the list. Continue until you feel that the estimate of the number of households has stabilized."

"Native Spanish-speaking households" were defined as households headed by persons who spoke Spanish as their native language during their childhood (from 1 to 15 years of age). If any of the raters were doubtful of the aims of the screener, they were encouraged to call the project office at ABCD. In addition, each screener and interviewer carried a signed card of introduction from Armando Rivera of ABCD and a letter of introduction from Dr. Smith of the Institute of Human Sciences of Boston College. Finally, the Police Commissioner of Boston had a full list of screeners and interviewers from the project which he circulated to local precincts in case there was any suspicion of intent regarding our screeners and interviewers.

We emphasized to the screeners that this part of the sampling process was critical as regards to accuracy for the final sample. Most of the screening on the Span block faces was done by screeners who were native Spanish-speakers, although, towards the end of the sampling, time constraints and the need for Spanish-speaking interviewers led us to use some non-Spanish-speakers for screening Span block faces. In most cases the checking of the original screening was done by non-Spanish-speakers.

A random 200 entry point cards that had been done as part of the original 679 entry points of Run 1 were chosen as a check procedure. The screening of these entry points a second time was termed Run 2. The first screening Run, consisting of waves #1 to #5, produced about .56 valid names of Spanish-speaking households per block face. Run 2, checking 200 entry points from Run 1, produced another .23 valid names per block face examined. A randomly selected additional 30 were chosen to constitute Run 3 from the 200 entry points comprising Run 2. Run 3 was thus a triplicate run, making a double check on a small portion of the total sample of entry points. No valid new names were turned up by this third run. Hence, our best estimate from these data is that there are about .79 Spanish-speaking households per block face for the 1951 Span block faces on the revised map, or about 1541 households in all. The fact that Run 3 turned up no additional names suggests that two attempts by separate individuals at "reputational screening" for Spanish-speaking people produces as many names as one is going to obtain by this procedure on a block face basis. This is not to say that the method is a perfect one or that all Spanish-speaking persons on the given block faces have been turned up by this procedure. However, when the present data are compared with other data dealing with the given streets or areas, the correspondence is sufficiently close to give a good deal of confidence in the present screening method, at least in the rough orders of magnitude indicated.

As a special check on the screening procedure, 20 of the 200 entry points of Run 2 were screened the second time completely independently of the first screening. Thus, the second screener did not know whether there were any Spanish-speaking people on the block face nor where they lived if there were any. (By contrast, all of the other duplicate and triplicate screening was done trying to add additional names to the pool of names gathered by the previous screener in addition to checking his work.) Using "tag recapture rate statistics" of the sort developed by Schnabel (1938), these data give an estimate of about .83 Spanish-speaking households per Span block face. This figure is very close to the .79 figure that emerged from the complete Runs 1 and 2 screening. If applied to the total of 1951 Span block faces, the .83 figure gives an estimate of about 1625 Spanish-speaking households on the Span block faces. The fact that the estimates from the two different procedures yield such similar results lends confidence to the general order of magnitude of both estimates. Our best estimate from the entry point screening is that about 1600 Spanish-speaking households, give or take 5%, live on the Span streets of the revised map.

When the entry point cards first came back from the field, the screening supervisor generally had to eliminate about 20% of the gross number of names listed on the cards, for two reasons: First, the screeners often put down names of Spanish-speaking households that were given them but who did not live on the specified block face (i.e., who lived across the street or up or down the street past a cross street). Second, the screeners sometimes listed more than one family at the same dwelling unit, where we were interested in treating all families living in a given dwelling unit as a single case at this stage of our sampling. The presence of two last names (e.g., Jose Gonzales Rodriques) often confused either the screener or neighbors on the block face or both. For the cards from the duplicate run (Run 2), about 30% of the gross new names were eliminated in these two ways.

After cleaning up the list of names on the entry point cards, the resulting names were entered on "housecall sheets", which were the sheets describing a specific person to be interviewed. For the Run 1 derived housecall sheets, about 23% turned out to be invalid when the interviewer went to perform the interview. For the Run 2 derived housecall sheets about 30% turned out to be invalid. Only those names that turned out to be valid at this stage were considered to be a part of our target sample for this study, and were counted as "valid names" in the figures reported in earlier paragraphs. In a sense, we should use the term "valid address" rather than "valid name", since we were mainly interested in whether or not a native Spanish-speaking household was living at a given address, not in whether or not we could spell their name correctly or even whether they were the same Spanish-speaking household as lived there last week.[1]

When an interviewer went to interview a particular person at a given address, the housecall sheet was considered valid if a Spanish-speaking household was currently living at that address. If this was not the case, the sheet was returned and dealt with by the screening supervisor. There were three principal reasons for invalid housecall sheets (and hence for inaccurate screening). In more than 20% of the invalid cases, the household in question had moved by the time the interviewer came to call. Perhaps they had moved prior to the time of screening, perhaps after. In any event, they were gone, while neighbors on the street still thought of them as living in the given dwelling unit. This amounted to about 6% of the total housecall sheets written. Note, however, that we considered the housecall sheet valid and proceeded with the interview if any native Spanish-speaking household lived at the specified address, even if they were a different one than specified on the housecall sheet, since they had just moved in as another Spanish-speaking household moved out. In this way we endeavored not to lose from our sample people who had just moved or who tended to move often.

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[1] In order to include the complete set of households on a selected block face in our sample, we permitted "new" households found by interviewers (not screeners) to enter the sample as valid addresses. This occurred when a respondent volunteered information about neighbors or new households on the block that might not have been noted by the screening process. About 25 additional households were found in this manner, mainly on block faces that were screened only once (rather than being part of the 200 duplicate, Run 2 block faces screened).

In many of the other cases where the housecall sheets were invalid we suspect that the household thought to be there had moved earlier. Still, the second main stated reason for invalid housecall sheets was that the household at the address in question was thought to be Spanish-speaking but was in fact not. Sometimes this occurred because the household had moved. Sometimes it happened because the screener copied names off a mailbox whose label had not been changed for weeks or months. Sometimes it was because the household had an Italian or Portuguese name that seemed Spanish to the neighbors and to the screener. Sometimes it occurred because some neighbor was simply mistaken in who he or she thought to be Spanish-speaking, and the screener had not been able or had not tried to check it out completely.

The third major reason for invalid housecall sheets was duplication. It was often the case that the screener had obtained several names for an apartment or rooming house but had not gotten specific apartment numbers. In these cases, we often found that a household head's first last name might end up on one housecall sheet (suggested by one neighbor, for instance) and his second last name on another (suggested by another neighbor). More frequently, a person's father's surname would end up on one housecall sheet and his mother's surname would end up on another, both without specific apartment numbers. Further, at times several people in the same family and household or in different central families but the same household would end up on different housecall sheets. Finally, since the screening (including duplication screening) was occurring at the same time as the interviewing, by and large, we at times had to eliminate housecall sheets because they were a duplicate of persons already interviewed or of housecall sheets in some other interviewer's hands. The rapidity with which the whole process of screening and interviewing had to be done precluded the complete checking of every step that might have been possible with more time and money.

As we did the screening, we used as an interview target every valid household name (address) that we found. If we had wanted a sample only half as large as we did, we would have selected randomly every other household that came out of the screening. As it was, however, the number of households turned up in the screening just about suited our needs as far as sample size was concerned. Yet the process of screening all of the Span streets left us open to possible statistical aberrations on a tract by tract basis. That is, simply by chance certain tracts might happen to be allocated a smaller number of random entry points than was warranted by the true number of Spanish-speaking households residing there. This was especially likely to happen in some of the census tracts with the denser concentrations of Spanish-speaking households. Such undersampling was contributed to by the manner in which we allocated entry points among the Span tracts, since we used the number of linear inches of Span block faces as our rough initial estimate of the Spanish-speaking population of each tract. Such a procedure, though necessary in the beginning, tended to oversample tracts where the Spanish-speaking population was relatively spread out and to undersample the tracts where this population was more densely concentrated.

As a corrective to this sort of over- and under-sampling, we computed the estimated number of Spanish-speaking households in each tract by extrapolating the results of the screening in each tract. For instance, if we had performed screening on 4 block faces in a given tract and had found four households, and if there were a total of 40 Span block faces in the tract according to the revised map, we would estimate that there would be a total of 40 Spanish-speaking households in that tract as a whole (multiplying the rate of one household per block face, from the screening, times the number of Span block faces in the tract). We summed all of these estimates and computed the percentage of the total Spanish-speaking population on Span streets that were estimated to be in each of the 75 Span tracts. We also computed the number of interviews we had completed or had in process in each of these tracts. Then we compared the estimated total percentages for each tract with the actual percentage in our sample. On the basis of this comparison we selected a small number of census tracts that had been undersampled to a significant extent for special sampling in Wave 99. Undersampled tracts were emphasized because they could be improved by going out to seek additional cases, while changing oversampled tracts would require eliminating cases already in hand or weighting them appropriately.

The whole process of drawing Wave 99 was a series of successive approximations aimed at a perfectly representative sample of Spanish-speaking households on the Span streets of the revised map. Thus, the computations described above were made several times in the last two weeks of the data collection period (August 24 - September 7, 1970). In addition to taking into account the percentage discrepancies between cases actually interviewed and the estimated total Spanish-speaking population of each census tract according to the regular screening, we also utilized some special screening estimates developed by Sister Francis Georgia, the person who had been primarily responsible for developing the original map for the Mayor's Office of Public Services. She followed our screening and sampling work closely in the last three weeks of the data collection and attempted to provide a corrective view of the density of Spanish-speaking people in certain areas where she felt our screening had not turned up estimates reflective of the true order of magnitude.

In order to make use of Sister Francis Georgia's special screening data without destroying the randomness of our sample, we made certain adjustments in the sampling procedure for Wave 99. First, we asked the Sister to go to whatever areas in the City of Boston she thought were being undersampled, after she had had a chance to examine our screening results up through mid-August. In general, the Sister indicated the presence (she did not give specific names and addresses for each household, just the number of households in a range of addresses on a given block) of more Spanish-speaking households than had been found by our Run 1 screening. If one considers the total of Run 1 plus Run 2 screening, our totals are very close to hers for the 10 block faces where they overlap (i.e., where she happened to go to 10 block faces that had fallen into our random sample of 679 block faces to be screened). In fact, after adding in this correction for Run 2, her totals are somewhat less than ours for 9 of the 10 block faces involved. For the 10th block face her estimate is still about twice ours. But this block face is in the densest Spanish-speaking area of the South End, so that the numbers involved are quite substantial (i.e., our estimate is about 40 households, after correction, while hers is 78). We are now performing further checks to see which estimate is more nearly correct.[2]

For the 32 block faces that the Sister examined that did not fall into our screening sample of 679 block faces, she indicated the presence of some 293 households, or nearly 9 households per block face on the average. Clearly, these results were worth taking into account, even if they were to some extent overestimates, owing to the haste with which they had to be derived (e.g., accepting at face value one person's statement of how many other households lived in the same building without having time to check the existence of any of the latter). Wherever these results indicated much greater densities of Spanish-speakers by census tract than our screening-derived estimates led us to expect, we oversampled in Wave 99 to compensate.

Thus, the comparison of actual interviews per Span census tract with both the screening-derived estimates and the estimate provided by Sister Francis Georgia guided our sampling in Wave 99. As it turned out, we randomly sampled block faces from five selected tracts (070500, 080300, 090600, 091300, 091400, in terms of 1970 U.S. census tract designations) as part of Wave 99, performing a special screening operation on the selected block faces from each tract. We were actually seeking about 60 additional cases from Wave 99, and hence wrote some 71 housecall sheets in the attempt to get them. Of these 71, 59 interviews were actually obtained. The 71 housecall sheets were spread among the five census tracts in such a way as to maximize the correction for undersampling these tracts in the final sample, and succeeded in this end rather well. Where the special screening of block faces (19 entry points were selected randomly from the five tracts for Wave 99 special screening) turned up more Spanish-speaking households in a given tract than were desired for the "undersampling correction", only that number which was needed was put onto housecall sheets, randomly selecting these out of the larger pool of names and addresses for that tract. In this way we preserved randomness in our Wave 99 sampling correction procedures, in spite of the non-randomness of the special screening done by Sister Francis Georgia.

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[2] The check has now been completed. The Joint Center for Urban Studies, it happens, also did a survey of the 10th block face in question (West Pembroke Street). Their screening of two apartment buildings (at #11 and #57) turned up eleven households. Their estimate of the total number (by extrapolation from their every 4th building sample) of additional Spanish households on the block was 38, making a total estimate of 49. This figure falls within the range of our two independent figures, which were 40 and 78 households respectively. However, it is much closer to our corrected estimate of 40 than to Sister Francis Georgia's estimate of 78. In fairness to all concerned, it should be pointed out that a complete building to building, apartment to apartment census has not been done. Yet the screening procedure we used in general, with correction from a duplicate run, is satisfactory and agrees in general quite well with other independent estimates.

Thus, in sum, the main source of interviews for the present survey was random sampling from the project-revised map of locations of Spanish-speaking residents in Boston (the original map having been prepared by the Mayor's Office of Public Services). Some 356 interviews were conducted with persons in households identified by the Run 1 screening of (Span) streets marked on this map, based on a target of 377 valid addresses or names derived from screening 679 randomly selected entry points (block faces). An additional 46 interviews (out of 46 attempted) were conducted with persons in households identified by the Run 2 duplicate screening of a random 200 of these same 679 block faces. Some 59 additional interviews were conducted (out of 71 attempted) with persons randomly selected from five special tracts as part of Wave 99, which attempted to compensate for probable undersampling of these tracts as a result of the regular screening.

Sampling Near Block Faces

If it had been possible with the resources and time at our disposal, we would have liked to have drawn a perfectly random sample of the Spanish-speaking population of Boston. The expense of finding Spanish-speaking households by screening or other means precluded a direct approach to this aim, so that an indirect approach was substituted instead. We expected most of the target population in which we were interested to be located on streets marked on our revised map, yet we had less than complete confidence in that map. By careful sampling of block faces not marked on the map as having Spanish-speaking residents we therefore hoped to accomplish two important aims: First, we expected to be able to check the exhaustiveness or completeness of the map. Put alternatively, we wanted to know whether and how many Spanish-speaking households lived on streets in Boston not marked on the revised map. Second, we expected to be able to take at least a small sample of the Spanish-speaking households that we found residing in unmarked streets relative to the map. This small sample could then be weighed appropriately to make the overall sample of Span, Near and None block faces a representative random sample of the Spanish-speaking households in Boston.

Our first step toward the foregoing aims was to draw a random sample of 299 entry points (block faces) from the 8620 Near block faces. It will be recalled that the Near block faces are all non-Span or non-marked block faces in the 75 Span tracts, using the revised map to indicate which are Span block faces. This sample of 299 entry points was drawn in three waves ranging from 63 to 134 each, with each wave stratified in terms of the number of Near block faces in each of the 75 tracts. Thus, our sampling procedure guaranteed that each tract would receive a number of random entry points for screening that was appropriate to its size. Reputational screening for native Spanish-speaking families was performed in these 299 entry points in a manner identical to that used with the Span block faces (see the instructions given earlier). In most cases, the screeners for the Near block faces spoke Spanish.

The results of this screening operation were clear-cut, and validated our general sampling approach in several ways. Some 26 valid names/addresses were found, or .987 per block face screened. Recall that from the screening (including both Run 1 and Run 2) of the Span block faces the average number of valid names/addresses was about .79 per block face. Hence, the revised map was a very great aid in finding Spanish-speaking households in Boston. Nevertheless, the map was quite incomplete. The figure of about .09 households per block face looks insignificant by itself, but becomes a very substantial figure when extrapolated for all 8620 Near block faces. According to this extrapolation, which is merely generalizing appropriately from a random representative sample, there are some 750 native Spanish-speaking households living on Near block faces, or somewhat less than half the number that we estimate to be living on the Span block faces. Thus, using the revised map alone would have given us a sample that ignored more than one-quarter of the Spanish-speaking households in Boston.

As with the Span screening, we performed a random check on the quality of the Near screening. Some 20 entry points were selected for this duplicate screening in order to check the original screening. Of this 20, 10 were selected randomly from the 16 block faces on which Spanish-speaking households were found. The other 10 were selected randomly from the remaining 283 Near block faces that had been screened without finding any Spanish-speaking households. The duplicate wave of screening here failed to produce any additional names, indicating that the original screening was quite thorough and accurate.

From the Near screening procedure we obtained 29 households in which to conduct interviews, and we were able to perform the interview satisfactorily in 26 cases. In 3 cases, Spanish-speaking residents were not able to be found. In a pinch, this would have been a sufficient number of Near interviews to enable us to assess whether Near households were significantly different from Span households, and would have been a sufficient number to enable meaningful weighing of these cases in creating a final, representative random sample of the Spanish-speaking households of Boston. Still, we preferred to have a somewhat larger sample for increased reliability.

Screening generally could be done at the rate of 12 to 15 block faces per day, depending on how close the entry points were to each other physically and how many Spanish-speaking households one found (since, when found, they had to be checked out). For the Near block faces, therefore, a day's work would produce little more than one Spanish-speaking household on the average (.09 per block face = 9 per hundred block faces = about one household every 10 block faces). Our resources of time and money would not permit us to collect any more cases by random sample screening under this circumstance. As a result, we turned to an alternative method--one on which even greater reliance had to be placed for the None sampling.

This alternative manner of performing Near sampling involved the use of available lists of Spanish-speaking families in Boston. Such lists suffer inevitably from a number of defects for sampling purposes. Most importantly, they tend to overemphasize the more stable, more educated, and more active kinds of people, since such people are more likely to engage in behavior that gets them on lists (e.g., answering a mass media request for mail, being home and responding to an in-person interviewer or census taker, going to an agency like an APAC (Area Planning Action Council) that keeps a list of some sort, etc.). By utilizing lists from a number of sources some of these biases will tend to cancel each other out--although a residual bias in favor of the more stable, etc. will probably still remain. Nevertheless, lists are quite useful for sampling purposes if no other methods are available, especially if various precautions are taken.

Perhaps the worst kind of bias from "list sampling" is that which arises from using a single list prepared by or for a special kind of agency or purpose. In this case, there is no chance for the biases of the list maker or list making process to be counter-balanced by opposing or different biases. Many prior studies of the Spanish-speaking in Massachusetts and in Boston in particular have used this "single list" procedure, unfortunately, and hence their sampling quality is highly suspect.

In any event, our procedure for the Near sampling from lists involved using five different lists:

(1) A South End List was borrowed from S.N.A.P. (South End Neighborhood Action Program). It contained the names and addresses of 192 Spanish-speaking households in this area of Boston. A random sample of 10 names chosen from the list were checked to see whether they were Span, Near or None in terms of our sampling distinctions: 50% were found to be on Span and 50% on Near block faces.

(2) A Jamaica Plain A.P.A.C. List (from a bilingual school survey) was borrowed from this local Area Planning Action Council of A.B.C.D. It contained the names and addresses of 204 Spanish-speaking households from this area of Boston. A random sample of 10 names which were checked for locations revealed that 80% were on Span and 20% were on Near block faces.

(3) An Allston-Brighton List was borrowed, containing the names of 114 Spanish-speaking households who were in contact with a nun doing casework in this area. A random sample of 10 names showed that 60% were on Span streets, 30% on Near streets, and 10% on None streets.

(4) A List of Cubans was obtained from the Cuban Refugee Center, consisting of 120 names and addresses of Cubans who attended a major party sponsored by the Center on May 20, 1969. A random sample of 10 names showed 70% to be living on Span streets, 20% on Near streets, and 10% on None streets.

(5) An A.B.C.D. List of 1130 names and addresses of Spanish-speaking people who wrote in to Armando Rivera of ABCD in answer to a radio request he made over a local Spanish language program. This

list was winnowed down from a larger list (that contained about twice as many names) by eliminating people from outside Boston proper and by eliminating multiple members of the same household from the list. Because the list was larger, 40 names were randomly chosen from it and checked for location. The results showed about 60% to be on Span streets, 30% on Near streets, and about 10% on None streets.

By extrapolating from the small samples taken from each list, a rough estimate was made of the total number of Near residents on the combined set of lists. The names and addresses of 25 Near households were then selected randomly from the five lists, taking a number from each list that was proportionate to our estimate of the total number of Near households included on that list. The sampling was done by picking a name randomly with a table of random numbers, looking up the location of the address picked, and rejecting it unless it was on a Near street (as defined earlier). Of the 25 interviews attempted, 19 were completed. There was one refusal and three were not done because time and manpower ran out before they could be completed. Two attempted interviews were not done because Spanish-speaking households were not found at the addresses indicated.

In sum, the sample of 45 interviews from native Spanish-speaking households living on what we call "Near" block faces comes from two different kinds of sources: 26 interviews were derived by interviewing every person emerging from the careful screening of 299 Near block faces randomly selected from the total of 8620 Near block faces in the City of Boston. The other 19 interviews were randomly selected from five different lists of Spanish-speaking households in Boston. By comparing these two types of sub-samples in the analysis, it will be possible to determine whether the kinds of people included in them are significantly different. For the present, our best estimate is that these two groups are very similar and that they are collectively representative of the Spanish-speaking people in Boston who live on Near streets.

Sampling None Block Faces

The procedures used for sampling None block faces (block faces in the 71 census tracts having very low concentrations of Spanish-speaking people) were virtually identical with those used for the sampling of Near block faces; the only differences were the "success rates" and numbers involved. From the total of 13093 block faces in the 71 None tracts, a representative random sample of 300 entry points was chosen in two different waves. As with the Near sampling, block faces were chosen from each census tract in proportion to the total number of block faces present in the tract (thus stratifying for tract size). Large tracts thus received many more entry points than small tracts. Reputational screening then was performed for these entry points, using the same procedures as before, seeking native Spanish-speaking households on each selected block face. About half of this screening was done by a Spanish-speaking person.

The results were again clear-cut and supported the validity of our general approach to sampling. Only 8 Spanish-speaking households were found on these 300 random "None" block faces, for a figure of .0267 households per block face. This figure of about .03 contrasts with the .09 figure for the Near screening and the .79 figure for the Span screening (Runs 1 and 2 combined). At this rate, it took from 2 to 3 man-days of screening to find each None household. Clearly, it would have been impossible to draw the size of sample we desired with our resources if we had had no map to guide us and simply drew an area sample of all of Boston. But once again the map was significantly incomplete, for when the observed frequency of Spanish-speaking households is extrapolated over the full 1309 None block faces, we find that there are about 350 Spanish-speaking households scattered over the 71 None census tracts that have very low concentrations of such households. This figure represents somewhat more than 10% of the total of Spanish-speaking households that we estimate to have been living in Boston at the time of the survey (Summer 1970).

As a check on the None screening we performed a duplicate screening on 18 selected block faces: 3 of these were the only block faces upon which Spanish-speaking households were found in the None screening, and the other 15 block faces were selected randomly from the remaining 297 block faces of the original screening entry point sample. Where 6 native Spanish-speaking households were found on the first screening, an additional 2 were found on the repeat screening of the 3 block faces that had originally had Spanish-speaking residents. No Spanish-speaking households were found on the other 15 block faces. Thus, in terms of a truly random sample of the 300 block faces screened, the results would be nearly identical--mainly because if there are no Spanish-speakers on the block, this seems to be discovered. On the other hand, for those 3 block faces where there were some Spanish-speakers, the error rate of the first screening was approximately what we found for the Span screening as a whole (producing an increment of 30 to 40% over the number of households originally discovered). We conclude that the None screening is in general quite accurate. The "success rate" in finding native Spanish-speaking households is very consistent with what we would have expected. It is quite a bit lower than that for the Near screening, but still significantly different from zero. Only a small proportion of the Spanish-speakers of Boston live in the 71 None census tracts, but when you add them all up they are significant in their numbers and not to be overlooked. Taken together, the native Spanish-speaking households of Boston living on Near or None streets comprise more than one-third of the total Spanish-speaking household population of Boston. To use only the map prepared by the Mayor's Office, or even to use our revised map, would be to miss this very substantial proportion of the Spanish-speaking population in this city.

From the None screening procedure we obtained the names and addresses of 10 households. We interviewed a member of 8 of these households and did not find Spanish-speaking residents at the designated addresses in the other 2 cases. However, we required a substantially greater number of interviews from the None block faces if we were to have any confidence in creating a weighted representative random sample of the Spanish-speaking population for all of Boston. At a minimum, we felt that we needed about 25 cases in order to have any confidence in our weighting of this subsample in the final representative sample. To obtain another 16 cases or so by screening would have meant screening an additional 600 entry points all over the 71 tracts, and would have required a minimum of 40 additional man-days of work and money, neither of which were available to us. To have sampled the Spanish-speaking population of Boston was out of the question, since that would have required about a dozen times as much screening as we actually did (and 400 additional man-days of work and money).

We again solved this problem by turning to the five lists used for the supplementary Near sampling. Only three of the five lists seemed from the test samples to have a sufficient number of None Spanish-speaking households to show up in our test samples. However, on further sampling of the other two lists, a few names of None residents turned up on a fourth list and were used to replace a number of addresses from the first three lists where the Spanish-speaking residents had moved. Thus, no None names were sampled from the Jamaica Plain A.P.A.C. list based on a bilingual school survey. The household interview targets were drawn randomly from the four lists in rough proportion to our estimate of the total of None Spanish-speaking households. We attempted to interview individuals in 42 households of this group. We were able to interview 21 of these persons, with 15 of the names and addresses being found to be invalid (no Spanish-speaking resident at the given address any longer). Another 6 interviews were not completed mainly because time and manpower ran out, rather than because they could not be contacted or refused. Of these 15 invalid housecall sheets, 11 referred to households who had moved since the lists were created, while the others were addresses not locatable. Note that even though the lists used were relatively recent and purportedly up-to-date ones, nearly one-third of the None households had moved from their listed residence. This merely hints at the very high degree of geographic mobility experienced by most of the Spanish-speaking population of Boston.

In sum, of the 29 final interviews obtained in native Spanish-speaking households located on "None block faces" (streets in the 71 census tracts with low frequency of native Spanish-speaking households), 8 were with persons from households emerging from the screening of 300 block faces randomly selected from the 13093 None block faces in Boston. The remaining 21 interviews were held with members of households randomly selected from four lists of Spanish-speaking people from various parts of Boston. This sample of None interviews is especially important since it represents the kind of Spanish-speaking residents who are usually overlooked in surveys of this sort--the people who are probably better assimilated and more successful in the broader community and who have moved somewhat away from the denser Spanish-speaking areas. But studying such people one may well be able to find how to aid the rest of the Spanish-speakers who are less well off.

Sampling Individuals Within the Households Selected

We have now described in detail how the Spanish-speaking households in our survey were selected. All that remains is to note how individuals were selected in each designated household. The general aim of the survey was to oversample men to a slight extent--partly in order to be sure to obtain enough interviews with male household heads to make the analysis interesting and useful. With this aim in mind, we set our general instructions for sampling as follows: Housecall sheets were written with the intent of obtaining 60% male household heads and 40% female household heads or wives of male household heads in our final sample. Each interviewer carried a housecall sheet that specified a male or a female, not either.

However, if a given household did not have the designated type of person, the interviewer was allowed to interview the actual head of the opposite sex. What generally happened, of course, was that there was no male household head in evidence. We instructed the interviewer to assume there was no male household head if the man who would normally be the head were away at war, in jail, in the hospital, living separately, etc. If this man merely happened to be away on a short trip or away at the time the interviewer called, a male head of household was still said to exist and had to be interviewed if designated on the housecall sheet. In some cases the reverse occurred: an interviewer was sent to interview the wife of the head of the household, but found an unmarried man or men in the dwelling unit. In these cases, the interviewer was allowed to interview the opposite sex head (or nominal head, if several men shared an apartment with equal responsibilities for it).

By and large there were few difficulties in identifying the head of the household, although the literal Spanish term used can be translated as "head of the family". Our interviewers knew the difference between a family and a household, however, and were instructed to seek the head of the household. Difficulties arose mainly in three situations. First, as noted above, when there were several young people of the same sex (usually males) living in the same dwelling unit, headship was not always clear. However, this occurred infrequently and could be resolved by picking the person who actually had leased the apartment, or else the nominal head. Second, when there purportedly was no male head of the household, this was at times felt by the interviewers to be a half-truth at best. Where the household was on welfare, they were generally unwilling to admit that a male head of household existed unless he was old or ill/disabled in some way. In many cases, we believe that a de facto male head does exist but that he resides elsewhere. Nevertheless, we accepted people's statements at face value unless we could see clear evidence to contradict them. We were not acting in the interests of the welfare agencies insofar as they might want to catch welfare recipients red-handed. Rather, we were interested in the general needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking people of Boston, and guaranteed our respondents anonymity. Third, in a few cases of extended families it was unclear whether an older female (or male) or one member of a younger couple was the household head. Insofar as possible, we let the people themselves make this decision for us. A related problem was the odd case where the "male head" of the household was a small and somewhat self-effacing individual, while the wife of the head was a large, aggressive woman. Here, we still treated the man as the head of the household even though this might not have been the case behaviorally and in terms of decision-making.

The result of our attempt to sample 60% male heads and 40% female household heads or wives of male heads was rather gratifying on the whole. Our final sample shows the following percentage of males and females interviewed:

Males	49.9%
Females	50.1%

Of the males interviewed, 99.3% were household heads. Of the females interviewed, 55.6% were household heads, 10.7% were wives of household heads, and 3.7% had other relationships to the household head.

No other sampling requirements were placed on individuals in the native Spanish-speaking households that were identified by the procedures described in the foregoing sections for Span, Near and None sampling. The household head requirement took care of the matter of age, and the matter of language and ethnicity was handled by the household designation as having a head who was "native Spanish-speaking". As noted earlier, the latter phrase was interpreted to refer to a person who had spoken Spanish as his or her native language (but not necessarily as his/her only native language) during the childhood years from age 1 to 15. This eliminated people who had learned Spanish in high school or college or elsewhere, after the age of 15. It was theoretically possible for us to interview a few women of non-Spanish background who were married to native Spanish-speaking heads of households, but this did not seem to occur--certainly it did not occur in more than a very few cases. Note, however, that a native Spanish-speaking woman married to a non-native-Spanish-speaking male head who was still living with her would not enter into the sample, as defined. To our knowledge, this occurred only rarely in the screening data, and never did such households enter our interview sample.

Interviewer Selection, Training and Supervision

A total of 17 interviewers were used in obtaining the sample of interviews selected according to the foregoing procedures. Most of the interviews were done by a basic set of about a dozen interviewers, with only a few done by certain other individuals who worked for only a short time. We began by seeking 10 interviewers, 6 males and 4 females, in line with our intended proportions of males and females in the sample. We used many types of search procedures to obtain candidates, but depended heavily upon some preliminary screening that Armando Rivera and Adriana Gianturco of ABCD had done. In every case we did our own checking and interviewing of these candidates as well. When we had narrowed the set of candidates down to a dozen or so, we put them through an interviewing test situation. Each candidate was required to go through the role of gaining entrance to a woman's home, explaining the study to her, and then asking her some closed- and open-ended questions. The interview test respondent was Sister Maria Guadaloupe, a nun of Puerto Rican background who was very helpful in the early stages of interviewer selection, training, and questionnaire translation. A board of review comprising several Spanish-speaking persons (three of them native Spanish-speakers) passed on each candidate.

Candidates accepted as interviewers were given a minimum of one day of interviewer training, and in the beginning most of them were given about three days of training. Towards the end of the data collection phase, a few interviewers added as replacements at the last minute received only a half day of formal training, but were required to accompany a trained interviewer for a few days, asking questions of him and learning from watching how he performed the interview. The majority of the formal interviewer training was performed by Dr. Oscar Alers of the Department of Sociology at Boston College. Dr. Alers has had several years of research experience in Peru and was in charge of several major studies performed there with native Spanish-speaking field workers.

By and large the quality of our interviewers was very good. In the early stages of the interviewing, a few of the poorer interviewers were replaced. Independent spot checks of randomly selected interviews performed by each interviewer revealed that, with one exception, our interviewers were doing their jobs rather than making up answers out of their imaginations. The one exception was a young man who falsified nearly every interview he attempted. He was terminated as soon as the evidence against him was conclusive, and all of his interviews were painstakingly checked with the original respondents. False interviews were discarded and in nearly every case redone. There were only one or two refusals where people who had been partially and inadequately interviewed by him would not sit through it again.

Each interviewer was required to note the number of times (and the date and time) he attempted to interview a given person. Once he was able to enter the dwelling to begin an interview, the interviewer was also instructed to note the time he entered, the time he finished the interview, and the time he actually left the dwelling unit. This information was also used to check up on the interviewers. To pass our scrutiny an interviewer not only had to have gone to interview the person designated and whom he said he interviewed, he also had to have been there on the date he indicated and at the time and for the time specified.

Perhaps most crucial to the quality of the interviewing performances were these instructions given each interviewer: We emphasized that this study was an important one to help with the needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Therefore, no falsification was to be tolerated. In the beginning we were willing to tolerate a small amount of honest error of interpretation, sloppiness, etc., but even this had to be corrected by the interviewer at the request of the interviewing supervisor. What we would not tolerate at any time, we made clear, was any falsification of any kind. We made it clear further that we would be checking up randomly on interviewers throughout the course of the survey. As a result, we think that we obtained relatively accurate and honest interviews from all of our interviewers except the one noted, and his interviews were nearly all discarded and redone. Sister Francis Georgia and Miss Virginia Dunn were especially helpful in checking on the quality of the interviewing.

The other keystone of our high quality of interviewing was a thorough check procedure which was operated by Mrs. Dorothy de Rodas, our interviewer supervisor, with the help of Mr. Armando Fernandez and others. Before it was put into the coding process, every single interview was checked thoroughly for completeness and accuracy. Items that had been left out when they should have been answered were brought to the attention of the interviewer and had to be corrected, if possible, before he was given credit for the interview. If a respondent really did not know the answer to a given question, we were willing to accept a blank on the interview schedule, but we had to be convinced about this and insisted on a repeat visit wherever the response seemed omitted by oversight or overly vague. Naturally, some of the responses were still vague even after the interviewer made a second try, for sometimes people's opinions or recollections were themselves vague.

In order to minimize problems of rapport with respondents we made a painstaking attempt to match our interviewers to their respondents in terms of sex and nationality. We generally tried to have males interview males and females interview females, although this seemed to be of little importance to getting the interview, according to the interviewers themselves. Nearly all of the interviewers stated that they felt no difficulty in rapport in the cases when they had to interview someone of the opposite sex. Nevertheless, we continued to make the attempt wherever time and sampling pressures would permit. In the end, 61% of the females in our sample were interviewed by the female interviewers and 63% of the males in our sample were interviewed by male interviewers.

With regard to nationality, we recognized three major categories: Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other, these being the major groups that we expected to find in our Boston sample. In our interviewer selection process we attempted to find interviewers with these three kinds of background in rough proportion to our estimates of their prevalence in the Spanish-speaking population of Boston. Thus, we tried to have mostly Puerto Rican interviewers, with a few Cubans and persons of other Hispanic backgrounds (mostly South American). In assigning interviews to each interviewer, in addition to taking sex into account, we especially tried to avoid matching Puerto Ricans with Cubans or Others. In general, thus, Puerto Rican interviewers dealt with Puerto Rican respondents, Cubans with Cubans, and Others with Others. Where time and manpower pressures forced us to alter this, we were most likely to let Other interviewers deal with either Puerto Ricans or Cubans. Our relative success in accomplishing this matching of interviewers and respondents can be seen in the following table, which indicates the percentage of respondents of Puerto Rican, Cuban or Other background interviewed by interviewers of these three background categories.

Percentage of Respondents of a Given Ethnic Background
Interviewed by Interviewers of a Given Background

Interviewers	Respondents		
	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other
Puerto Rican	50%	8%	25%
Cuban	18	61	38
Other	32	31	37
Total	100	100	100

Another way of assessing the quality of the interviewing as well as of the sampling is to determine the overall rate of non-response among target respondents. That is, we ask, what is the overall percentage of interviews attempted with valid housecall sheets that were not completed? The relevant data to answer this question has been given piecemeal in earlier sections, but let us summarize it here. A total of 578 interviews were attempted with valid housecall sheets (i.e., with households whose heads were native Spanish-speakers living at a designated, randomly sampled address). Of these, only 43 were not completed, producing a completion rate of about 93%--which is extremely good, especially in view of the relatively low education and special ethnicity-assimilation problems of the Spanish-speaking in an English-speaking society. Of the 43 non-respondents, only 14 were actively uncooperative and either refused the interview (perhaps for the second time, if it was being redone) or broke off the interview in the middle so that it had to be discarded. Another 6 respondents were never home after ten or more attempts of the interviewer to contact them. The remaining 23, or over half of the non-respondents, were the result of time, money and manpower running out at the end of the data collection period before these could be done. The validity of the sampling is affirmed impressionistically by the fact that several of the refusals to cooperate came from what appeared (on face value and from questioning neighbors) to be habitual drunkards or drug addicts. The small number of refusals coming from such people validates the sampling by showing that it produced a broad cross-section of people, from the more educated and available to the more deviant and hard to find.

Finally, some of the data from the questionnaire itself provided us with a further assessment of the quality of the interviews. Each interviewer was required to rate the person interviewed in terms of several rating scales after finishing the interview. Several of these ratings help to indicate the quality of the interviews as a whole, when summed for the total sample (unweighted). For instance, only 8 out of 535 respondents were rated as antagonistic in their level of cooperation with the interviewer (this is about 02%). Over 86% of the respondents were rated as cooperative, and about 12% were rated as neutral or indifferent. Similarly, only 7 people (about 1%) were rated as negative, defensive or angered by the interview, while about 83% were rated as interested or very interested in the interview and the remainder were rated as indifferent (about 15%). In general, the same half dozen respondents were rated low on both cooperation and attitude toward the interview. These same people tended to be rated also as being in a bad mood.

Of the 17 interviewers, only 8 performed the large majority of the interviews, doing from 38 to 58 each. Another 4 interviewers did about 20 each, and the remaining 5 interviewers only did a few each for a total of about 20 among them. The field work was performed entirely in the months of July, August and September, 1970, and was confined by necessity of the grant to roughly a ten week period (including the training, interviewer selection, translation, pretesting, sampling, etc.). Over 70% of the interviews were performed in the month of August, with the remainder divided about equally between the last two weeks of July and the first week of September.

One final aspect of the interview worth noting in this section is the length of time it took. We intended to have an interview that took about an hour on the average. We accomplished this aim almost exactly, for the final average time of the interview itself was about 58 minutes. In addition, as part of establishing rapport, the interviewers took an average of about 6 minutes talking with the respondent prior to the interview. Similarly, the interviewer took about the same amount of time after the interview in talking with the respondent before leaving.

Translation and Pretesting the Interview

During the first weeks of the project in July the interview schedule was prepared in an English-language version and then carefully translated into Spanish. The translation was done with great care, utilizing a panel of eight bi-lingual translators to discuss and sharpen the translation of every item. This panel included four native Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, a Cuban, an Argentinian, and two bi-lingual U. S. mainland Americans (including the director of the survey and Mr. Dean Putnam, coordinator of corresponding surveys in Lawrence-Lowell and New Bedford, Mass.). Approximately three man-months of translation effort (compressed into a two week chronological period) went into the creation of the present questionnaire, with special attention to having items that would be inoffensive and could be easily understood in Spanish by people of different nationalities and by people of little education.

Two separate pre-tests of the translated questionnaire sections were performed. The first pre-test was performed on 10 haphazardly selected Spanish-speaking people, and the second pre-test was performed on about 20. Our first pre-test indicated that the questionnaire took roughly four hours, so that it had to be cut substantially at that time. The second pre-test indicated that it was still at least twice as long as we wanted it, so that it was cut again to its present length of about an hour. The pre-test results helped us to revise questions that did not seem to be well understood or that did not get the kind of responses we were seeking. In addition, these results helped us to determine which questions to drop as we cut the interview to the desired length. Finally, the pre-tests served also as an important part of the interviewer training process, familiarizing them with the questions and giving them a chance to experiment a bit with how to interview. Going over the interview schedule in detail after the second pre-test with all of the main interviewers also served an important training function, as well as communicating information about which items should be revised or dropped.

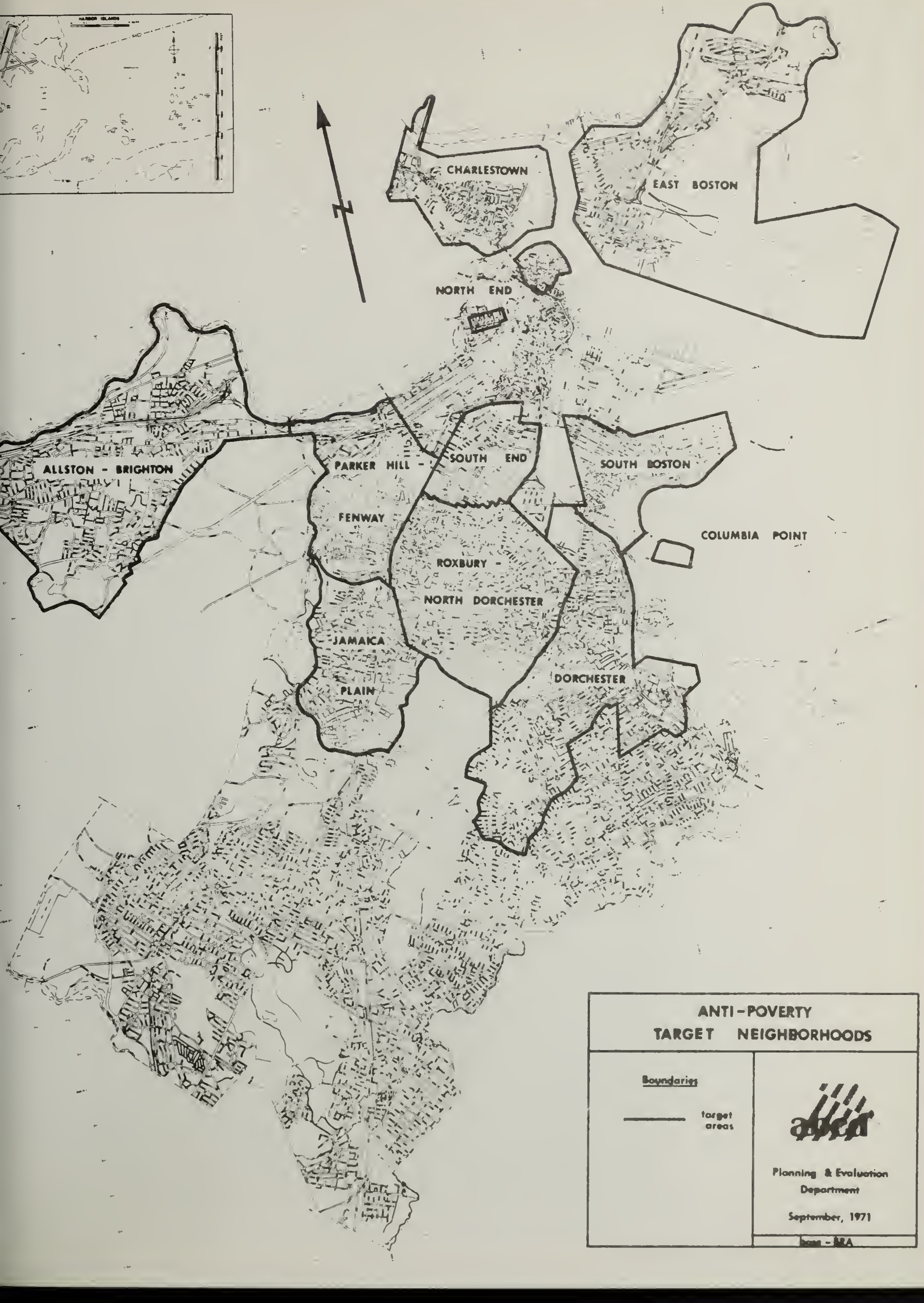
Coding and Cleaning the Data

Once the interviews had been performed and checked for accuracy and completeness, they were turned over for coding and data processing to Mr. Burt Baldwin. The items in the questionnaire with fixed alternatives ("closed ended questions") were coded by an English-speaking person, since they required only an ability to mark accurately the number or letter circled by the interviewer. The coding of every one of these items for all respondents was checked carefully by going through the interviews a second time, after the initial coding had been completed. This resulted in the elimination of most coding errors.

The items without fixed alternative responses (the "open ended questions") were coded by native Spanish-speaking persons (mainly by two Puerto Rican women) according to a carefully devised set of codes. The codes themselves were derived by examining the nature of the first 10 to 20% of the responses, keeping in mind the original intent of the question itself. Items in the interview that did not produce sufficient responses to merit coding and punching on IBM cards were merely listed on separate sheets of paper. Thus, if an item in the interview stated "Specify" and only a half dozen people responded by specifying, these responses were listed on a single sheet of paper rather than coding this item for all 500-odd respondents. After the initial open-ended coding had been done, the longer lists of responses were taken and coded insofar as seemed reasonable (i.e., if a particular item that we had not begun to code turned out to have many more responses in the data than we at first thought). Spot checks were performed on all of the open coding.

APPENDIX II

MAP OF ABCD TARGET AREAS



ANTI-POVERTY
TARGET NEIGHBORHOODS